

Britain's attitude to Europe attacked by EEC ministers

Britain's attitude to the European community was strongly criticized at a weekend meeting of EEC foreign Ministers in Belgium. Herr Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, complained that Britain's aim seemed to be both to belong to Europe and to undermine it. Supported by France and Luxembourg, he objected to Mr Callaghan's recent statement that an enlargement of the EEC was welcome because it would "reduce the dangers" of over-centralization.

Anger over Callaghan letter

By Michael Horsby
Paris, 9 October

The basic principles of British foreign policy, as set out in Mr Callaghan's recent letter to Mr Ron Hayward, the general secretary of the Labour Party, came under strong attack at a weekend meeting of the foreign Ministers of the European Economic Community in Brussels. The ministers, who met over the weekend in a pleasant, grey-stoned village in the Ardennes, were concerned with the confidential nature of the proceedings and the fact that the letter, which was leaked out, was not a formal statement of British policy. The letter, which was written by Mr Callaghan, the Foreign Secretary, was taken as a sign of a change in British policy. The letter, which was written by Mr Callaghan, the Foreign Secretary, was taken as a sign of a change in British policy. The letter, which was written by Mr Callaghan, the Foreign Secretary, was taken as a sign of a change in British policy.

French sensitivity about any erosion of national sovereignty. A German estimate that the annual cost to the EEC budget of taking Greece, Portugal and Spain on board could run from about £750m to £1,250m also emerged during the weekend. Exactly how this figure was calculated was not clear, but it would appear to imply an increase in current expenditure of between 10 and 20 per cent. The Foreign Ministers agreed that it would be wrong to ask the new applicants to sign a special pledge of their commitment to pluralist democracy, as had been suggested by the European Commission.

Explaining this decision, M. de Guiringaud said that the act of joining the Community amounted by itself to acceptance of its democratic character, and there was no need to impose an "insulting supplementary obligation" on the newcomers. By contrast, it was agreed that it would be a good idea for the EEC to make a formal declaration of the democratic principles upon which the Community was founded. The best occasion for this, it was felt, would be the meeting at which the Prime Minister will announce the date for direct elections to the European Parliament. These are still only tentatively scheduled for May or June of next year.



The Duchess of Kent, who suffered a miscarriage last Wednesday, leaving the King Edward VII Hospital for Officers yesterday. Before being driven home to York House by the Duke, who was 42 yesterday, she thanked the press for their concern.

Secret talks by NF and police before march

From Peter Evans
and John Charters
Manchester

A pact between the police and the National Front was the basis of the brilliantly successful operation which prevented a repetition in Greater Manchester on Saturday of the serious violence at Ladywood and Lewisham recently. Mr Martin Webster, the Front's national activities organizer, told *The Times*: "It was crucially agreed that we would not advertise the venue, assembly point or route." But the result of outwitting left-wing efforts to oppose the march proved to be a propaganda victory for the Front. Its delighted leaders say they have demonstrated that by itself a march does not cause disorder. That, they say, is caused by the left-wing reaction.

Tory strategy to avert clash with unions

The plans of four leading Conservative spokesmen on economic affairs to regenerate British industry and avert a collision with the unions over the establishment of closed shops are published in a pre-conference report. The document emphasizes that the Conservative Party is opposed to closed shops in principle, but accepts that to try to ban them could be ineffective and even harmful to the individuals concerned.

It puts forward a five-point strategy to achieve workable, voluntary agreements between unions and employers. The authors' suggestions to stimulate the economy and introduce greater freedom for individuals and companies are headed by wide-ranging cuts in direct taxation and a firmer control of the money supply. Page 5

EEC warning of steel trade war

Viscount Etienne Davignon, the EEC Commissioner for Industry, gave a warning to the world's steelmakers that closing of markets to imports would not ease the industry's structural and capacity problems and could lead to a trade war. His appeal was aimed particularly at the United States, where two companies are expected to seek anti-dumping measures against the British Steel Corporation, Nippon Steel and other European steel groups. Page 15

Plea to Bonn by Frau Schleyer

In a published appeal, Frau Schleyer, wife of the kidnapped West German industrialist, has brought pressure to bear on Bonn to reach agreement with his kidnappers. A letter from Frau Schleyer this weekend—considered genuine—recalled that Japan had capitulated to save the lives of hijacked air passengers. Page 4

Spain to get new terrorism law

Government and opposition leaders in Spain have agreed to bring in a law for "the defence of democracy against terrorism", as a result of the week-end assassination of the Madrid Government's representative in the Basque country. Page 4

Mrs Gandhi's poll mistake

Mrs Indira Gandhi, the former Indian Prime Minister, told foreign correspondents after a successful political tour that she had called the election in what she lost power at "probably the worst possible moment" last March. Page 5

Peace talks plan disclosed

The Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers appeared separately on television in Washington and gave the most detailed public account so far of the proposed formula for the Geneva Middle East peace conference. Page 4

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Mr Prentice is worried by 'lurch to Marxism' if Labour win again

By Michael Hatfield
Political Reporter

Mr Reg Prentice, the former Cabinet minister, who has resigned from the Labour Party after 20 years, said yesterday that he was worried about the kind of Government that would result from a victory by Labour at the next election. Explaining why he had turned his back on a party he had served in Parliament for 20 years, Mr Prentice said on the London Weekend Television programme *Weekend World*: "I was forced to the conclusion that the only way we can prevent this country going on a further lurch down the Marxist road is for the Labour Party to be soundly defeated at the next election."

His disaffection with the Labour Party was well known and well publicized. But Mr Prentice's decision at this time to take the Conservative whip came as something of a surprise, because even in the summer he was canvassing opinion for an alliance of the centre. He announced his decision on Saturday, after a conversation earlier in the week with Mrs Thatcher, Leader of the Opposition.

Mrs Thatcher issued a statement saying: "I welcome Mr Prentice into the Conservative Party. He reflects the view of a growing number of people who voted Labour in the past but now find that the Conservative Party represents their true beliefs and the future of our country."

While agreeing that the Labour Party always had a left wing, Mr Prentice said that today it was "hard-line Marxism" compared with the "moderate" wing of the party he had left. He said that the moderate wing of the party had failed to fight back. With a few honourable exceptions, they had dropped out of the fight.

Dismissing "Labour's Programme 1976", which was approved at last year's annual party conference, Mr Prentice said the election manifesto would be based on that document, which was by far the most left-wing ever produced. When the manifesto was produced, Mr Prentice said, he was in the Labour Party. He said that he was in the Labour Party when the manifesto was produced. He said that he was in the Labour Party when the manifesto was produced.

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Dr Owen sets hint of talk with Brezhnev

By David Owen
Foreign Secretary

Dr David Owen, the Foreign Secretary, arrived in Moscow for a short but potentially important visit to his opposite number, Mr Gromyko. His main objective is to persuade the Soviet Union to moderate its policy in Africa.

Dr Owen holds that "ideological struggle" comes in many guises and that it is not always as obvious as it seems. He said that he was in Moscow to discuss the possibility of a meeting with Mr Brezhnev. He said that he was in Moscow to discuss the possibility of a meeting with Mr Brezhnev.

Brutal killing of young mother seen as a sign that 'hawks' again control IRA

From Christopher Walker
Belfast

With two murders and a public threat of increased violence, the leadership of the Provisional IRA has made a determined attempt to dampen growing speculation that it was planning an unconditional ceasefire.

The murder late on Saturday night of Mrs Margaret Hearst, a young mother and a member of the locally recruited Ulster Defence Regiment, was one of the most brutal carried out in Northern Ireland in the past eight years.

A gunman killed Mrs Hearst, aged 24, with a head of bullets from an automatic weapon, then fired on her daughter, aged three, who was lying in a cot. The shots missed the child by inches and ripped through a soft toy which she was clutching in terror.

Hearings on Concorde noise next week

New York, Oct. 9.—The New York airport authorities, facing legal pressure to allow Concorde landings, will hold public hearings on October 17 on proposed noise regulations.

One of the proposals would allow the Anglo-French plane to use Kennedy airport for a trial period of at least three months. The airport operators, the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, has refused to grant Concorde landing rights since March 1976, saying that a noise standard, or rather vibration index, would have to be established first and new equipment installed.

But last Thursday the United States Court of Appeals ruled that the airport's attitude discriminated against Concorde and ordered the authority to admit the airliner immediately. The port authority won a temporary suspension of this ruling by appealing to the Supreme Court in Washington, which will consider the case on Friday.

Yesterday's announcement by the port authority did not say when the new noise regulations would take effect. The three proposals on noise standards included one that would require all jets using the airport to meet new United States anti-noise standards by October 31, one that would give jets currently using Kennedy until 1985 to modify their engines to reduce noise, and one that would give Concorde a three-month test period and give all jets until 1985 to meet the new federal standards.

The airport's present maximum sound level is 112 decibels.

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But the result of outwitting left-wing efforts to oppose the march proved to be a propaganda victory for the Front. Its delighted leaders say they have demonstrated that by itself a march does not cause disorder. That, they say, is caused by the left-wing reaction.

Mr James Anderson, the Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, agreed yesterday that the arrangements involved the question whether it was right for a chief constable, for the sake of public order, to appear to connive with a political organization to achieve its ends.

Mr Anderson, who, like many other police officers, is pressing for changes to the public order legislation, said his overriding concern was "public order and people's safety." "At the time I had no other choice," he said.

He pointed out that the Front would have gone ahead and held a demonstration anyway. "The secrecy I maintained offered the only prospect of avoiding serious public disorder," Mr Anderson met National Front officials on October 3, and a letter to the Front, two days later, signed by Mr Peter Jones, assistant chief constable in charge of operations, subsequently confirmed that.

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HOME NEWS

Resignation has not ended battle of Newham

By Penny Symon

The bitter political activity that has been seen recently in the Newham, North-East, constituency shows no sign of ending because of Mr. Preece's announcement that he is joining the Conservatives.

The immediate reaction from members of the constituency party who have spent much time and energy fighting to keep him as the Labour MP was one of disappointment, closely followed by signs of relief that that particular battle had ended.

But the acrimony remains. Many party members of long standing who have supported Mr. Preece in his battle with the left wing, paradoxically, that much more acrimony arose from the intervention of two Oxford graduates who said that they too were determined to beat the left.

Mr. Jack Hart, secretary of the constituency Labour Party, had been unaware of Mr. Preece's decision.

Mr. Hart, a member of the local party for 43 years, said yesterday: "It came as a complete surprise, but I am glad that it is over."

Mr. Preece did announce in March that he would stand for Parliament in the constituency as a Democratic Labour candidate.

Mr. Hart, who was one of his staunchest supporters, said that he had been disappointed that Mr. Preece had been so uncompromising in the past. "I find it hard to accept his government," he said.

However, that will take some time, because the intervention of Mr. Julian Lewis, aged 25, a postgraduate at St. Antony's College, Oxford, and Mr. Paul McCormick, aged 26, a research fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, has meant that some of Mr. Preece's original supporters have deserted him because they do not like the campaign used by people they regard as on the extreme right.

Mr. Alfred Beveridge, who was also one of Mr. Preece's staunchest supporters, said: "The fight in Newham is now between the right and the extreme left, and Mr. Preece's old supporters do not like the tactics of either side."

"I am disappointed that Mr. Preece has cut himself off from some of his supporters who he made the declaration that he would stand as an independent."

"We pleaded with him to remain in the Labour Party and fight the left-wing infiltration from within," he said. "We said that we would fight to keep him as the MP, and he would have a strong base at Newham from which to work against the left. But he has led us up the garden path."

Those on the left of the Newham, North-East, party expressed delight last night at the news. Mr. John Wilson, who unsuccessfully moved a resolution to oust Mr. Preece in 1973, but succeeded two years later, said that he vindicated the left, who were accused of infiltrating the party.

Mr. Preece's decision proves that the feeling among ordinary members of the party, not infiltrators from outside, that he had changed his view and was no longer thinking as a socialist, was true all along," he said. "However, the constituency is now in complete disarray."

After the constituency voted in July, 1975, not to reelect Mr. Preece, intense activity began on both the left and the right wings to recruit new members. Mr. Preece's opponents won one round in 1976. Then Mr. Lewis and Mr. McCormick intervened and obtained High Court injunctions. In July the "moderates" gained control of important posts, setting the scene for a further battle when the constituency comes to debate whom to select as the parliamentary candidate.

That agreement enabled Mr. Anderson to tell Stockport council officials that there was no indication that the Front would be holding its demonstration in the town. But reflecting local anxiety, the council held a special meeting on Friday.

In fact, Stockport was used as a decoy by the Front. The belief firmly held by left-wingers beforehand that Stockport was to be the venue came about by accident.

Mr. Webster was in Manchester when Tameside banned the Front from marching in Hyde. He was seen in a Stockport council owned by one of the Front's organisers.

On Friday a press statement by Mr. Anderson gave no clue that police knew the venue of the Front march. He said merely that Saturday was still surrounded by an air of speculation. "The situation is very fluid and we still do not know what will happen or the scale of any problem that will develop."

Conservative plan for averting clash over closed shops

By David Wood

Political Editor

Although the Conservative Party continues to stand against the closed shop, a new document signed by leading members of the Shadow Cabinet explains to this week's Blackpool conference how a Conservative government would hope to avoid collision with the TUC and allow closed shops to be established.

The Right Approach to the Economy expounds a general economic strategy, but it is the section on employment laws that will have deservedly command most attention.

Sir Geoffrey Howe, QC, shadow Chancellor, was chairman of the party committee set up last June to produce an economic analysis and prospectus that is rather less than an election manifesto though certainly a key document for conference delegates.

Sir Keith Joseph, the chief policy maker, and Mr. James Prior, employment spokesman, who had their publicized differences of approach to the Scarman findings on the Grunwick dispute, amicably set their names to it. Mr. David Howell, a Treasury spokesman, contributed and Mr. Angus Maude, party deputy chairman responsible for the Research Department edited it.

The Conservative dilemma is fairly precisely defined. We are deeply concerned that

some of our present labour laws aimed at protecting employees and jobs may actually be acting as a deterrent to the creation and maintenance of employment opportunities. We want to ensure that all those concerned with industrial prosperity (including the unions) are working to understand how recovery is being hindered by the operation of some parts of employment law, so that the necessary changes can be made with as much speed as possible.

The Conservative Party is against the closed shop. We believe that in the past the threats to individual freedom that can spring from closed shop agreements have been exaggerated. We believe that the convenience of a union membership agreement, to unions, and sometimes to employers, has been allowed to become the first consideration. We believe that employers and unions can and should do without such agreements.

We recognize, however, that a simple attempt to ban closed shops can be not only ineffective but sometimes even harmful to some of the individuals concerned. The evidence suggests that informal agreements, common even if formal ones are banned. They may restrict the individual's right to work for more than an open agreement, which is regulated and limited.

That analysis serves as a prelude to five proposals which it is not suggested be made to the House of Commons (memories of the Industrial Relations Act, 1971), at least in the beginning. Voluntary agreement between the unions and employers is the objective. The document states that the

following points must be observed in any agreements reached:

1. A closed shop agreement should be made only with the consent of all the work people involved, declared by secret ballot. There should be opportunities for periodic review of the agreement.

2. People already employed in a company where a closed shop is being established should not be forced to join a union against their will. People unfairly dismissed for refusing to join should be eligible for compensation from the employer.

3. Individuals with strong personal convictions that make it impossible for them to join a union should be exempt.

4. Any closed shop agreement should protect the rights of members of professions whose codes of conduct forbid them to take part in industrial action.

5. People with strong personal convictions that make it impossible for them to join a union should be exempt.

That passage brings Sir Keith Joseph and Mr. Prior, who had a difference over the Scarman report on the Grunwick dispute, into line. Read between the lines, it also bridges the gap between Mr. Heath and Sir Geoffrey Howe, who share responsibility for the 1971 Industrial Relations Act, and their Conservative critics, because by the time the Act reached the statute book the argument for a closed shop in

certain circumstances had been recognized.

Nevertheless the five points leave some questions unanswered. What personal convictions or conscientious objections would be recognized and how are they to be defined? The answer is apparently that the code of practice would be wider than (say) the Parliamentary Labour Party's conditions of testicularism and pacifism.

The objection remains to be settled in the code when it has been discussed and presumably agreed with the TUC.

Against whom would a dismissed employee's case in the industrial tribunal to justify the grounds for exemption from union membership, and the sanction would be against the employer to pay up, at any rate in the first place, on the argument that it takes an employer and a union to make a bargain.

But there is certainly thinking that the code should provide an opportunity for an employee and presumably an employer to pursue a case against a trade union in the civil court.

As Sir Keith may be expected to comment, the five points explain his objections to the Scarman report, which said that a majority of Grunwick workers who wanted exemption should be obliged to join a union.

Another question remains.

Tory agents impatient for detailed party plan

By Fred Emery

It is only three months ago that Mrs. Thatcher, Blackheath, proclaimed on her party's behalf: "The tide is flowing strongly and nothing can withstand it." It seemed more like three years, contemplating the Labour conference last week, the narrowing of opinion polls to what they call margins for statistical error, and especially those volatile commentaries that depicted the Labour self-image as the "natural" party of government.

But Mr. Preece's conversion to the Tory ship will have done wonders for morale at the Tory conference opening in Blackpool tomorrow, not that it has flagged so much in the provinces as in the polling samples.

The two sentiments most forcefully expressed by Conservative party officers I met in the North were frustration at being thwarted of an expected return to power by the Lib-Lab agreement, and vexation with the Shadow Cabinet for vacillating differences in public.

One reason to make the Liberals pay dearly, and are confident that the disaffected Tories will return in droves. At the same time they processed in Newcastle upon Tyne, and especially in Scotland, as being more time to prepare for an election.

That is, perhaps, the reflex of the professional, which is found also expressed by Labour and Liberal party workers. A common view was the party manager in Leeds who insisted: "The sooner the better." He believed he could deliver Mrs. Thatcher power on his doorstep, capturing seven marginals, the names of which he off his lips like a catechism.

The party is supposedly ready for an election at any time, yet Central Office even-of-conference doubtfulness is not universal.

Unlike Labour, not all prospective candidates are yet picked, although Mr. Preece will have to hurry. And there is the common lament that "it gets harder and harder all the time to get people to devote themselves full time to this, from the north where, in spite of the blight of Tory seats, their underlying overall vote and the capture of councils in the region ought to be spawning new enthusiasts."

The financial bookkeeping looks impressive, is hardly sound. One even hears the plaint that "we are fundamentally in a worse situation than Labour because we depend on donations." That is a lie at Transport House's dependence on the unions for supposedly 90 per cent of party funds.

But it is impressive that Conservative constituency associations contribute to central funds are slightly up over last year to £587,283.

"Big business" donations dropped slightly to £1,156,737 (about the same as Labour receives from union subscriptions) but dissolution would surely unleash purse strings. Present reserves of £677,800 would hardly be enough, since the party spent some £1,500,000 on the two elections in 1974.

Where the party is better off than the other two is in its

carps of constituency age and its local memberships, has 350 agents, compared Labour's 86. Few better pay agents (most of whom are reputedly in the £7,000 a year bracket) is one reason why party spends so much in than Labour. But its advantage may be less than it looks. Conservative regional office express concern over agency vacancies in the connected seats. Also, as a will privately agree, local association membership is generally only "treading up coming in great surges, many places it remains socially demographically unbalanced. I was told, however, that in Mr. Steel's constituency Conservative Party membership had leapt 1,200 in a weeks out of "dispute" with Labour. It is a decided by local Liberals.

On policy disputes the Labour's concern about the move to the move across the because Labour did not last week with its customary exhibition of fratricide.

Waiting even clean lines: public is not the Tory view. And the sight of Sir Keith Joseph arranging his arm for a confrontation with unions and outflanking James Prior seem alive through the party officers talked to.

They saw it in professional electoral terms. While Keith, they agreed, was preaching the gospel most of a party faithful loved to see the party's right and unstable undecided again.

More important, from a party manager's viewpoint, would all the years of rearing everyone, including union members and leaders, to be a party of the people, men but were people could live with the unions.

Having assured everyone that there could be quiet place of strife with the Tories, a managers' consensus was that the party should be right right risk all by itself. Such men know that the party conference, too, a wreck a year of constituency work.

They recounted that the new initiative, a detailed policy proposals, promote before the election. When things economic was bad it was well enough lament. When, as now, things were better, taken as at least a warning sign it was important for the Conservatives not to seem jeremiads, but accentuate the positive in the own alternative strategy.

Finally, I found very little residual worry over Mr. Thatcher as the woman leader. In the party's eyes it was that she had long been missed as "too typical of an era for real." But her own walkabouts seem to have brought more familiarity in acceptance.

It may be the Tories' only hope. But for a woman whose leader's warning is the road to East Europe, which Mr. Callaghan is supposedly drifting, it has one reason: East European touch in East to Labour and Liberal offices, the Tories' larger-than-life portrait is everywhere.

Tax cuts and firm money control head Tories' strategy

By Caroline Atkinson

Economics Staff

Inflation is identified as Britain's main economic problem in the Right Approach to the Economy, a new document outlining the Conservative Party's economic policy.

Firm control of the money supply, with a steady reduction in the rate of growth of the money stock, is the key to monetary targets, is top of the strategy's list of anti-inflationary measures. But control of the money supply is not thought to be enough to put the economy on the right path.

Intermediate and substantial cuts in income tax, a free float upwards of the pound, a steady reduction in the proportion of national income absorbed by the public sector and the early repayment of Britain's outstanding overseas debt are main features.

North Sea oil is seen as providing an opportunity to right Britain's difficulties of high inflation and slow productivity growth, rather than an excuse for doing nothing.

Nine main elements of the Conservatives' new approach are set out. They concentrate on the need for more stability in government policy, with more freedom for individuals and companies to earn and save money and to operate without government constraints (for example, in wage bargaining, regional policy and price control).

Some emphasis is placed on the need for more open discussion of government policy (for example, in the setting of cash limits) with increased accountability to Parliament and to those not represented by unions or big business.

A more independent role for the Bank of England is suggested, to emphasize the importance of monetary targets and to ensure that the Government does not override them when under pressure from the private as well as public sectors to expand credit.

An overhaul of the tax system is considered essential, but some of the measures would

ANNUAL COST OF POSSIBLE CHANGES		
Cutting income tax by 10	£m	500
Restoring income tax thresholds to 1973-74 (est)	£m	2,400
Restoring higher-rate income tax bands to 1973-74 (est)	£m	435
Reducing top rate of income tax to 60%	£m	200
Abolishing investment income surcharge	£m	300

take time to implement. When the party takes office the burden of income tax will be reduced immediately by a cut in both the basic and higher rates, a rise in the tax threshold and a widening of the tax bands.

As these measures will cost more than can be paid for by North Sea oil revenues or internal savings in public spending, some rise in indirect taxes is envisaged.

The investment income surcharge is seen as an often unfair tax on saving. Longer-term changes in capital transfer tax and capital gains tax would be outlined in a Green Paper. Those would assist the accumulation of personal savings, with special emphasis on helping small businesses and farms.

The taxation of "paper" gains would be stopped. A streamlining of value-added tax with a single rate, is proposed to cut the administrative burden and the cost to companies.

Cuts in government spending are expected to come from a cancellation of socialist programmes (such as the Community Land Act); and end to nationalization; a reduction of subsidies; and a cut in housing expenditure. Increased efficiency in local government, with an end of duplication between Whitehall and local authorities, is also expected to save money.

The enormous cost of tax collection could be cut by self-assessment for tax on the American model.

Selsdon call to end price control

The removal of all price controls and an end of statutory monopolies and the use of taxpayers' money for nationalized and private industry are called for in a manifesto by the Selsdon Group, the right-wing Conservative organization.

The group would also like to see the transfer of ownership of council housing to tenants and the end of foreign aid. The tax credit scheme to which the Conservative Party is committed should be used to make up people's incomes so that everyone could pay for the social services they use, it says.

There should be an end to incomes policy, the group states. It could not accept the idea that unions, professions or others should have the right to enjoy coercive powers or the freedom to act above the law and it expects that a Conservative government would remove such privileges.

"That is why we support measures to end the compulsory closed shop, starting by widening of the grounds on which people can exercise their right not to join a union."

Rugby player dies

Mr. Joseph Carling, aged 23, collapsed and died during a rugby match at Gloucester on Saturday. He was playing for Southport and Flint B team, of Bath.



Brass band immortals: Black Dyke Mills band, immortalized in the brass band movement at the Albert Hall in London on Saturday (Peter Hennessy writes). In winning the National Brass Band Championship for the third year in succession they became only the second band to complete the "double hat-trick". Black Dyke's recent victories, added to their three-year run between 1947 and 1949, mark the achievement of the legendary Fodens Motor Works Band. Fodens dominated the contest in the 1930s, with triple wins in 1932-34 and 1936-38. The Albert Hall erupted with emotion when it became clear that Black Dyke had beaten their

Yorkshire rivals, Grimsthorpe Colliery. Huge handshakes, embraces and kisses unashamedly. It was a vintage occasion musically, as well as for the record book. Mr. William Repton, orchestral manager of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, one of a panel of three judges, wrote in the margin alongside Band 19, Black Dyke's place in the order of play: "This is a sound that will live with me to the end of my days."

The leading bands of the 21st century in the first section of the championship were: 1. Black Dyke Mills, 198 points; 2. Grimsthorpe Colliery, 193; 3. Yorkshire Imperial Metals, 191; 4. Camboorne Town, 189; 5. Bowness and Corridon, 188; 6. Tredgare Town, 187. Review, page 10

Bombs appeal at criminal court

The Court of Appeal will hear a criminal appeal at the Central Criminal Court rather than the Law Courts in the Strand today because of the need for strict security.

Lord Justice Roskill and Lord Justice Lawton, with Mr. Justice Boreham, will hear appeals against conviction by three individuals and London trial, each jailed for life in 1975 for public house bombings at Goldford and Woolwich.

999 calls inquiry

An official inquiry has been ordered into the West Yorkshire ambulance service's emergency telephone system. The Yorkshire Regional Health Authority has appointed three members to investigate allegations that ambulances have gone to wrong addresses and of delays in answering calls.

Bank raid inquiry

Commander Albert Wickstead, of Scotland Yard, is carrying out an inquiry into allegations against police after a Lloyds Bank robbery in Baker Street, London, in 1971, when £5m was stolen.

Weather forecast and recordings

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NOON TODAY

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HOME NEWS



Volunteers at work yesterday restoring a lock on the Basingstoke Canal.

Pilots' poll shows opposition to closed shop

Robert Parker
A large proportion of the 1,399 replies to 3,000 questionnaires sent out, 1,274 pilots were against the closed shop system they required to observe according to a ballot carried out by a closed shop agency shop.

The closed shop agency shop was introduced in April, 1975, by the British Air Line Pilots' Association (BALPA). A ballot was held to decide whether pilots should be required to join the union. The results showed that 1,274 pilots were against the closed shop system, while 125 were in favour. There were 21 spoilt papers.

The question posed was: "Do you support this agency shop for BA pilots?" The replies were opened and counted by Mr Norman Tebbit, Conservative MP for Waltham Forest, Chingford, a prior in the former BOAC with a declared distaste for the closed shop.

On the basis of the ballot results, the pilots are now calling on British Airways to commission an independent referendum of their pilots to discover their views about the closed shop. If the results of such a ballot were to confirm the unofficial ballot, then the agency shop should be abolished.

The pilots who are opposed to the closed shop are supported by the National Association of Freedom and have asked British Airways to remove the threat of dismissal from those pilots who refuse to join BALPA. They also want the present agency shop to be suspended while British Airways conducts a ballot.

Mr Tebbit believes that one of the reasons why BALPA decided to introduce the closed shop was because its members resented those pilots who did not join or who were reluctant to pay the union dues, but who still enjoyed the benefits of BALPA's agreements with the management.

Campaign to end use of children in sex films

By a Staff Reporter

A national campaign aimed at eradicating the use of children in the production of pornography was launched yesterday by Mrs Mary Whitehouse, secretary of the National Viewers' and Listeners' Association.

She is distributing 50,000 petition forms calling on the Government to introduce immediate legislation to control the sexual exploitation of children by way of photography for commercial purposes; to penalise parents or guardians who knowingly allow their children to be used in the production of such material; and to make specifically illegal the publication and distribution of such material.

The campaign has received the support of Mrs Thatcher, leader of the Conservative Party, who has promised them in power to make it illegal to use children in that way.

Mrs Whitehouse said yesterday: "We know that 200,000 children are involved in the 'kiddie porn' industry in the United States, and legislation to stop it is being discussed there. And because we are seeing it in this country now, and also because what happens in the United States is bound to come here, we feel that it is urgent to stamp out this trade."

Strike halts ferries

A 24-hour strike over pay by ships' officers halted some British Rail passenger ferry services from Harwich to the Hook of Holland yesterday.

Working in nationalized industries, 1: The shop floor Security under social ownership

According to a recent survey in Manx, which 2 workers in nationalized industries are less satisfied with their jobs than any other section of the population. In the first of three articles on publicly owned industries, Ian Bradley reports on morale at shop-floor level.

Arguing the case for public ownership of the coal industry in 1919, R. H. Tawney declared that "nationalization can enlist on its side motives to which the private profit-maker cannot appeal. It can put the welfare of human beings, worker and consumer, first".

Nearly 60 years later, his optimism seems to have misplaced. The nationalized industries are not renowned for satisfying their consumers and it does not seem that they are doing very well with some of their employees. Broadly, the higher up those who work for them are, the less happy they appear to be with their jobs.

While morale on the shop floor is reasonably good, it is low at the level of middle management and very poor indeed in the boardrooms.

The general attitude on the shop floor is summed up by the remarks of a steel worker who was in the industry before public ownership: "For us, nationalization was a godsend. Without it, I doubt if we would have had any steel industry at all. It has given us security, and a much better deal than we would have had under the old private owners. We used to have to go on in hand to the management office. Now it is a team effort and the old 'them and us' feeling is disappearing."

Security is the most important benefit nationalization has brought workers. That is largely

because so many of the industries brought under public ownership were in a precarious state. But it is also a reflection of the socially conscious management that Tawney predicted. There seems general agreement at shop-floor level that conditions under public ownership are better than they were under private enterprise.

A recently retired worker with the Yorkshire Electricity Board remembers nationalization in 1948 chiefly for putting employees on a proper grading system and encouraging them to join a union. A steel worker says public ownership in 1957 brought infinitely better medical facilities as well as a proper pension and sickness scheme.

There also seems to be a feeling that wage rates in the nationalized industries compare favourably with those in the private sector. Craftsmen on Tees-side are deserting ICI for the British Steel Corporation because of better pay and conditions.

Workers also talk of a sense of camaraderie peculiar to the nationalized industries. Their could be because so many of them are industries which have a tradition of close family and community involvement going back many generations, such as the railways, the coal mines and the docks. A young electrician prefers working for British Rail to private industry and self-employment because it is less regimented and more friendly. He says: "It's just one big happy family."

There are plenty of complaints among workers in nationalized industry about the management. They criticize it for being too bureaucratic and re-

Crises are also voiced of the paternal style of management in the nationalized industries. Workers reckon their loyalty is taken for granted and that it is assumed they will make sacrifices said to be in the national interest that those in private companies would not be expected to make.

Workers in the nationalized industries do not seem to regard their bosses any differently because they also are paid by the state. There is still a feeling that management represents the enemy. But they do feel that they have been taken more into the bosses' confidence as a result of public ownership. They are particularly impressed at the way the books are thrown open and they are told what is going on, which they claim never happened in the days of private enterprise.

The nationalized industries are almost certainly at the forefront of the movement for workers' participation. The British Steel Corporation has a system of employee directors, the Post Office is likely to have workers on its board next year, and the National Coal Board is in the process of setting up a policy committee made up of miners, overmen and managers which would decide on the working of faces, operational methods and manpower allocation. Active trade unions welcome these steps towards industrial democracy. Other workers are worried that participation may be going too far. As one of them put it: "I want to have a say, but I want management to manage." The managers would agree.

Next: Middle management

Payment-by-results attack in 'university sinecures'

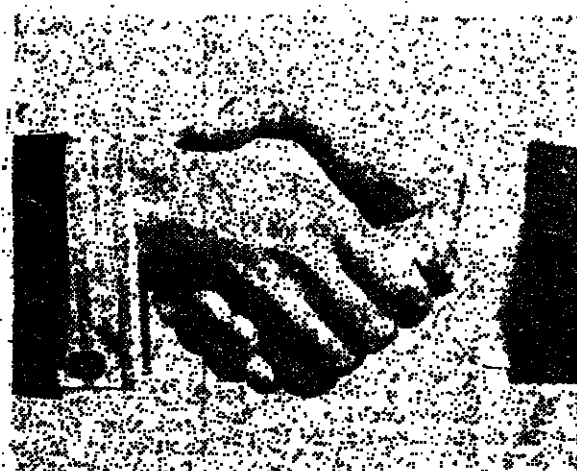
A Staff Reporter
Universities and colleges would no longer be able to claim "sinecures" or life fees for their academics if they are to be paid by results, according to a report published by the Institute of Economic Affairs.

The report, which is part of a series of studies on the higher education system, says that the current system of payment by results is "a gross injustice to the taxpayer" and that it would lead to a "collapse of standards" if it were implemented.

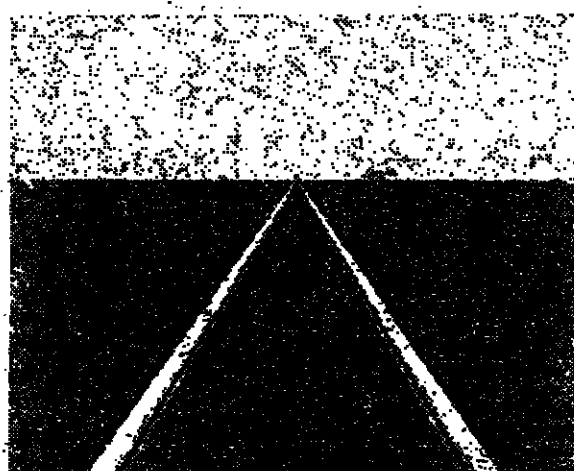
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New benefit is claimed by 6,000 disabled wives

Pat Healy
A new benefit for disabled wives has been introduced by the Department of Social Security. The benefit is available to 6,000 disabled wives who are married to men who are also disabled.

The benefit is a weekly payment of £10.90, which is added to the wife's existing pension. It is available to wives who are married to men who are also disabled, and who are themselves disabled.

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contributions to qualify for the equivalent national insurance benefit that is paid at a higher rate. Single disabled women who have qualified because of their inability to work have lost their pensions on marriage. After November 17, if they pass the medical test, they will keep their pensions.

It is estimated that 40,000 disabled housewives will benefit fully from the new pension. An unknown additional number will be entitled to partial benefit. That section includes women in families receiving a small amount of supplementary benefit, or those whose husbands receive a small dependants' allowance for their wives.

Professor Peter Townsend, chairman of the Disability Alliance, said yesterday that he was not surprised at the high level of initial claims for the new benefit, because organizations concerned with the disabled believed the official figures grossly underestimated the number of disabled married women. Nevertheless, he said, it was most encouraging.

"It is extremely important that the whole set of rules by which the benefit is being administered should be put to the test," he said.

Reducing harmful effects of cancer drugs

A Staff Reporter
New methods to reduce the harmful effects of drugs used to treat cancer were discussed at an Anglo-American seminar in Leeds, Castle, Maidstone, which ended on Saturday.

Results of the three-day seminar included plans for coordinated research programmes and an exchange of staff, drugs and unpublished information.

Work on reducing the side-effects of anti-cancer drugs was described by Dr John Ziegler, the National Cancer Institute, Bethesda, Maryland. He said a difficulty in treating cancer with drugs was that the treatment was often worse than the disease. "One is using poison to attempt to destroy more cancer cells than normal cells," he said.

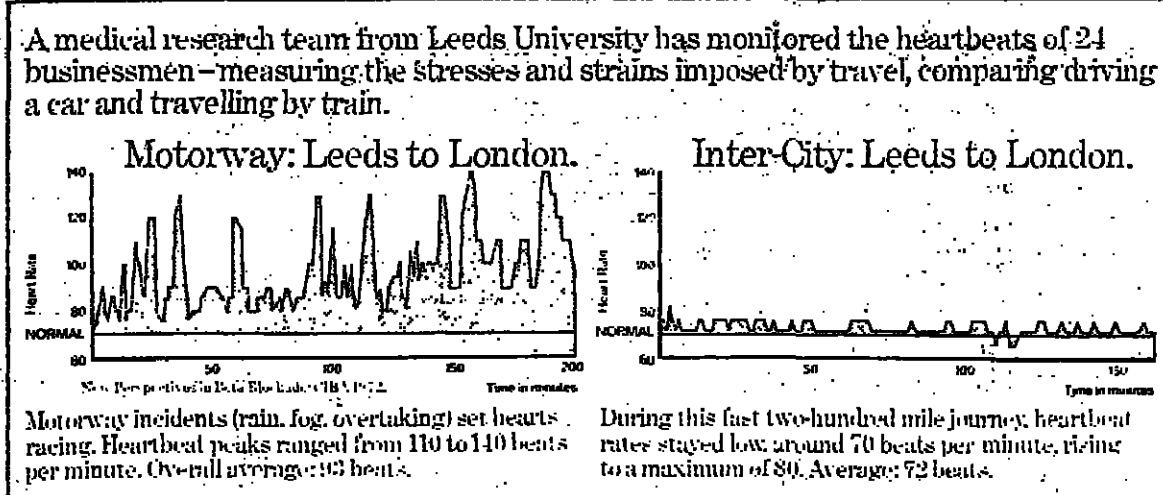
Because the bone marrow was seriously affected by anti-cancer drugs, the Institute for Cancer Research in Surrey had been bone marrow from patients, stored it while the patient was treated, and then replaced it.

That had accelerated patients' recovery considerably, he said.

Other methods being tried were a priming dose of drugs before the main dose, and antibodies to the cytotoxic drug two days after treatment. Both methods, by reducing side-effects, allowed a bigger dose to be given.

The scientists and physicians, most of whom were from the Bethesda Institute, and the Surrey Institute, also discussed the transplanting of human tumours into immune-deficient mice.

Experiments are to be carried out at the Institute for Cancer Research and the Royal Marsden Hospital to see whether such transplanted tumours react to drugs in the same way as human tumours. The mice will be injected with the same drugs that are given to the patients and their effects compared. Another meeting was arranged for next year to assess achievements.



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HOME NEWS

Education conferences 'were platforms for the establishment'

By a Staff Reporter

The Government's regional education conferences were simply platforms for the establishment of those responsible for British education during the years of decline, while the Green Paper on education was filled with vague truisms, with no programme for action, Mr. Rhodes Boyson, Conservative MP for Brent, North, and an opposition spokesman on education, said yesterday.

Mr. Boyson told a one-day conference in London on the Green Paper, organized by the National Council for Educational Standards, that a conference on comprehensive schools at the end of this year had been suggested. But that, like the regional conferences, would only permit the kind of discussion that was symptomatic of Labour's blinkered approach, he argued.

"There will be no discussion allowed as to whether comprehensive schools are successful as a concept—no—that is part of the state tablets Mr. Mowbray, Mr. Mowbray, Mr. Mowbray," Mr. Boyson said.

"We are told specifically in the Green Paper: 'The comprehensive school is at the centre of the Government's policy on secondary education.' This is a statement of faith, not rationality. All the evidence is that the comprehensive school has not improved educational standards and may have reduced them."

"The Green Paper now threatens with destruction one of the few points of the British educational scene that is still functioning successfully—the British sixth form."

Mr. Boyson declared his astonishment at the suggestion that independent schools should take the lead in the reform of the education system, even if it meant surrendering some of their independence, made by Dr. John Rae, Headmaster of Westminster School and chairman of the Headmasters' Conference.

It is central government power which has destroyed our grammar schools and local freedoms in opposition to the wishes of parents and teachers. It is central government which has watched idly while standards in schools fell. It is parents who were disgusted by such government intervention and falling standards in state schools who filled John Rae's school and other public schools with their children.

"For the chairman of the HMC to advocate more government control over independent and public schools is astonishing."

But Dr. Rae explained yesterday that he was not talking about more central government control of public schools. His proposal was for more power in the hands of the Secretary of State for Education and Science over the curriculum for all schools, state and private.

Schoolboy injured in a duel

Disciplinary measures are expected to be taken this week at St. Joseph's College, Ipswich, after a schoolboy was injured apparently in a duel with a fellow pupil. He was said to be "proceeding favourably" yesterday in Ipswich Hospital, where he sustained "apparently" stomach wounds "apparently" inflicted by a sharp instrument.

The duel, in the school grounds, was over a girl, believed to be a pupil of a Suffolk school. The two boys involved and their seconds, are all about 14 years old.

Suffolk police said: "We have interviewed another boy believed to have been involved and this may well be a case which will come to court. The condition of the boy is not serious, but any case of wounding is looked upon seriously."

A member of staff at the college said: "The matter is being handled internally by the school. It was a very rare incident and most uncharacteristic of the school."

Glue factory fire

A glue factory and its contents were damaged by fire at Chatter's, Cambridge, yesterday. Sixty people living near were evacuated.

Clergy's income said to be equivalent to £5,500

By Our Religious Affairs Correspondent

The average income of an incumbent in the diocese of Chichester would be equivalent to a salary of about £5,500, comparable with senior teachers and certain professional classes, according to figures given to the diocesan synod on Saturday.

Mr. D. H. L. Hopkinson, chairman of the diocesan board of finance, said it was important that such figures should be known, as there was much uninformed discussion of them. He pointed out that it was the professional classes earning a similar salary who had most felt the squeeze in living standards.

Inactivity on recidivism condemned

By Stewart Tisdler, Home Affairs Reporter

Prison administrators and Home Office ministers have ignored an area of prison work which could arrest recidivism by training prisoners for their release and employment, according to a report published today by Apex, an organization concerned with finding jobs for former prisoners. The name stands for Advancing the Prospects of Employment for Ex-offenders.

The indictment of government inactivity is made in Apex's annual report, which notes that the proportion of recidivism rose from 25 per cent in 1938 to 94 per cent in 1975.

The report suggests that prisons have become a dumping ground for the petty offenders, the socially inadequate "at the end of the scale, and the person who has made one big mistake in an otherwise upright career, at the other."

Prisoners in the latter category are atrophied in the "mentally and physically harmful wasteland" of a prison. The report says: "Any person visiting a prison will be struck by the meaningless tasks which prisoners are given in order to maintain the establishment."

An incumbent's income is made up of a stipend, which in Chichester will be set at a minimum of £2,783 from next April, together with a free house, and a number of fringe benefits. As these benefits are from diocese to diocese, it is not usually possible to give a reliable figure for equivalent earnings for clergy.

Fringe benefits available to the clergy in Chichester include £150 annual expenses, first incumency grants of £250, life insurance, interest-free loans of up to £1,250 for car purchase, and cheap loans for house purchase on retirement.

Mr. Hopkinson estimated the value of free housing as £2,000 a year.

Many poor children losing free meals, minister told

By Our Social Services Correspondent

Mrs. Williams, Secretary of State for Education, has rejected a plea that more money be sent to parents telling them they may be entitled to free school meals for their children. The plea has been made by the Child Poverty Action Group and Gingerbread, the one-parent family organization, who believe that many poor children are losing their free dinners because their parents do not know that income limits have been raised.

Mrs. Williams told the two bodies that much local help had been given: through local education authorities to inform parents of the new income limits. But, although she has no money available for a publicity campaign now, the minister

Rugby players killed in crash

Three people died yesterday when a minibus carrying a Rugby Union team was in collision with a coach with day trippers between Cokerthorpe and Workington, Cumbria.

The dead were the bus driver, Mr. Royce Geoffrey Graham, aged 50, of Meadow View, Harrogate, Carlisle, and Mr. Alexander McGregor, aged 19, and Mr. Peter Carr, aged 17, both members of the Wigton Colts team.

Investigation of football violence

Leicester City Football Club and senior police officers are to hold an inquiry today into violence on the terraces in the second half of Saturday's match with Aston Villa.

The referee stopped the game for 10 minutes as bottles, beer cans and staves were thrown by rival gangs. Twenty-two people were taken to hospital, 17 were arrested, and damage estimated at hundreds of pounds was caused.

WEST EUROPE

Opposition joins Señor Suárez in drafting anti-terrorism law as three die in Basque outrage

From William Chislett, Madrid, Oct. 9

Spanish Government and Opposition leaders, shocked by the assassination of a provincial administrator and his two police bodyguards in the Basque country, have agreed to cooperate in drafting urgent legislation for "the defence of democracy against terrorism."

Señor Suárez, the Prime Minister, was meeting representatives of opposition parties when news arrived yesterday from Guernica of the death of Señor Augusto Uzcátegui Barrenechea, president of the provincial delegation of Vizcaya, in a sub-machine gun attack on his car.

Basque representatives attending the meeting returned hurriedly to Bilbao. The rest of the participants drew up a joint communiqué condemning "this most barbaric destabilization of the Spanish democratic process."

The Communist, Socialist and Catalan parties, the Basque Nationalist Party, and the ruling Democratic Centre Union promised to "support the Government in its responsibility of putting an end to these acts, incompatible with the democratic order. In this line we promise to deal urgently with the joint drafting of a law for the defence of democracy against terrorism."

The communiqué shows the considerable change since Franco's death in opposition attitudes to political violence.

The military wing of the Basque separatist movement, Euzko Askatasuna, accepted responsibility for the Guernica murders.

Señor Uzcátegui Barrenechea was on an ETA death list. Just over a year ago Señor Juan María de Araluce, president of the provincial delegation of Guipúzcoa, was assassinated in San Sebastián, and ETA announced that it intended to kill all "presidents of the Francoist delegations."

Only on Friday the military wing of ETA announced in Bilbao that it had given up its armed struggle as previously reported, because it did not consider the amnesty agreed between the Government and the Opposition sufficient, and because several extreme left parties had still not been legalized.

On the same day Señor Manuel Arriaga Apalategui "Apari," who is reputed to be a leading ETA member, failed to report to the Mariscal police as he is required to do twice a week. He has been on provisional liberty in France for the past month in connection with the kidnapping and murder of a Basque industrialist.

The Guernica outrage was the worst since January when five Communist lawyers were machine-gunned to death in their Madrid office.

Señor Suárez was continuing the inter-party discussions today.

The new amnesty agreed last Thursday, which is almost certain to be passed by the Cortes shortly and when approved would benefit all Basque prisoners. The amnesty covers the period between the December 15 referendum and the June 15 general election.

Each fresh act of political violence makes it more and more difficult for the Government to bring the amnesty into force. No details have been released of what kind of anti-terrorist law might be introduced, but the Government is wary of producing anything similar to the draconian decree laws which Franco introduced every time law and order was disturbed and which only made matters worse.

Faced by problems on all sides, Señor Suárez called the inter-party meeting to try to achieve basic agreement with the Opposition before submitting his economic and political programme to the Cortes later this month.

Economic measures are reported to include a fund of 100,000 pesetas (£660m) to relieve unemployment and a wage ceiling of 22 per cent. Inflation at the present rate will reach 30 per cent by the end of this year.

Commentators have spoken of the meeting as a kind of historic compromise. While a coalition government is not in prospect, Señor Suárez nevertheless wishes to obtain tacit consent for his programme in order for it to be as effective as possible.

All the Opposition is aware that the consolidation of the democratic process has a long way to go and in this respect are offering their cooperation. Socialists and Communists termed yesterday's talks as "positive" and Señor Ferrnando de la Puente, the Government's spokesman, said the atmosphere was "cordial."

with the words: "Prisoner for 31 days."

"My family and friends know that I am a beat and my health is robust," the letter said. "But these incomprehensible delays I cannot bear much longer, especially since the Japanese Government's decision."

Last week the Japanese Government, bowing to the demands of airline hijackers, released six jailed terrorists and paid \$6m in return for the lives of 156 hostages.

There has been no official comment. Instead, President Scheel stepped into the controversy over the alleged witch-hunt of intellectuals arising from the public debate on causes of terrorism in Japan.

Speaking at Tübingen University yesterday he warned Germans that the controversy could split them into two camps, each blaming the other for the wave of terrorism.

Bonn, Oct. 9.—The newspaper Bild Zeitung is to publish a letter from Frau Schleyer to her husband saying she is convinced that the moment is at hand for a positive decision by the Government.—Agence France-Press.

Protest over Yugoslavs' forced 'holiday'

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, Oct. 9

Fifteen Yugoslavs have been sent on a compulsory 15-day holiday on the Mediterranean island of Porquerolles so they will be out of the way during the forthcoming state visit of President Tito.

The French Government decided to send up leading dissidents to lessen the danger of trouble.

The decision has brought a protest from Dr. Jean Jaures, a Socialist mayor and senator of Tivers, in whose area the island lies.

Claiming that the move turned the island into a "prison camp" he said that he had put down a written question on the subject to the Minister of the Interior.

Army alerted as floods wreak havoc in Italy

Turin, Oct. 9.—The Italian Army was put on full alert today, ready to join rescue teams in flood-devastated areas of northern Italy. At least 14 people have died and thousands made homeless by five days of heavy rain.

Floodwaters, reaching 13ft in some areas, have destroyed thousands of homes and blocked vital road and rail links.

In Campo Ligure, 12 miles north-west of Genoa, the mayor, Signor Renato Rizzi, visited houses reduced to rubble and told reporters that a tide of mud from a landslide engulfed the local school and put the town hospital out of action on Friday night.—Reuter.

Our Paris Correspondent writes: Three days of heavy rain in the Alps Maritimes have cut off a number of villages and mountain resorts. Early yesterday the river Tiber, swollen to double its normal size, carried away a number of bridges.

Lebanese hermit is proclaimed a saint

Rome, Oct. 9.—Sharbel Makhlouf, a nineteenth-century Lebanese hermit, was proclaimed a saint today by the Pope.

The Patriarch of the Maronites assisted the Pope in the canonization Mass and as a concession to the Eastern churches that recognize papal authority, the service included several phrases in ancient Syrian.

About 12,000 Maronite Christians from Lebanon attended the ceremony in St. Peter's. The official Lebanese delegation was led by Mr. Charles Helou, a former President. In a separate delegation received by the Pope was Mr. Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist leader in the fight against Muslims and Palestinians in Lebanon.

Addressing the crowd in French the Pope called on the new saint to help Lebanon "heal the wounds still open in the country and proceed on the path of hope."

Sharbel, who was born in 1828, spent the last 23 years of his life as a hermit. Many miracles have been attributed to his intercession since his death in 1898.—UPI and AP.

Anaya, Oct. 9.—President Sarkis today joined thousands of Maronite Christians at this hill town in northern Lebanon where St. Sharbel spent most of his life in prayer.

Many pilgrims claimed that they had just witnessed miracles. A two-year-old child paraded from birth was said to have begun to move his legs after they touched the foot of a statue of the saint. A seaman said a 15-year-old boy paralysed by polio "threw down" his crutches and walked "after being held up to the statue."

By mid-morning hundreds of pilgrims of all ages were touching the statue with articles of clothing, car keys, and other possessions.—UPI.

Two Soviet cosmonauts sent to join Salyut

Moscow, Oct. 9.—The Soviet Union today opened the third decade of the space age by launching a two-man Soyuz mission to join a new orbiting station.

Lieutenant-Colonel Vladimir Kovynin and Mr. Valery Ryumin, the flight engineer, blasted off just after dawn from the same launching pad in Soviet Central Asia as the first satellite—Sputnik 1—20 years ago last week.

Their craft, Soyuz 25, is heading for rendezvous, probably within two days, with the Salyut 5 space station launched 10 days ago.

They said the two cosmonauts, both on their first space flights, will be carrying out further experiments in the Salyut programme, which has been at the centre of Soviet space exploration.

The launching from the Baikonur cosmodrome in Kazakhstan was not announced until Soyuz 25 was safely in orbit.

However, Western observers in Moscow had been expecting a manned launching to commemorate Soviet 1 and the sixtieth anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution next month.

Tass later reported that all systems were working and that the cosmonauts were enjoying a rest period.

Tass said Colonel Kovynin, aged 35, an Air Force parachuting instructor with 1,600 hours flying experience, and Mr. Ryumin, who graduated from a forestry institute before becoming a cosmonaut, had asked to take with them a copy of the Soviet Union's new constitution passed into law last Friday.—Reuter.

Arabs stone Israeli soldiers

From Michael Knipe, Jerusalem, Oct. 9

Arab demonstrators protesting at the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank of Jordan, were forcibly dispersed by Israeli troops yesterday. Seventeen of the demonstrators were arrested.

Troops patrolling villages and refugee camps in the Ramallah region north of Jerusalem, where the settlements have increased, were stoned by local youths.

The Jewish settlers—members of Gush Emunim (Faith Block), a group which believes that Jews have an historic duty to settle in the West Bank—established four tents and a water tower on the opposite side of the road from an existing camp at Ofra on the road from Ramallah to Jericho a week ago.

However, they were ordered by the Israeli Military Governor of Ramallah to stop work, apparently in accordance with the Government's decision to postpone further West Bank settlement in order to avoid endangering the peace conference initiative.

Tel Aviv, Oct. 9.—Mr. Begin, the Prime Minister, will be released from hospital on Tuesday. Doctors say his condition is good, but they have told him to keep his workload light for a week.—Reuter.

Man accused of attacks on paintings

Hamburg, Oct. 9.—A retired labourer, Hans-Joachim Böhm, aged 40, was reported to have confessed to throwing acid at classic paintings, including works by Rubens and Rembrandt, in various art galleries and museums in West Germany.

Police said Herr Böhm, who was arrested here yesterday, was mentally ill. He had reacted early after a brain operation.

Among paintings Herr Böhm is accused of damaging are two by Rembrandt, a self-portrait and the "Blessing of Jacob," worth an estimated £12m.—Agence France-Press.

French Centrists to link up with majority coalition

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, Oct. 9

The Centrist Party threw in its lot with the governing majority coalition for the next elections during its conference in Lyons yesterday.

In Lyons, the party leader, Jean Lecanuet, the party leader, was particularly critical of the Socialists, thus squashing any idea of a union with them after the elections.

The communist list was slowly crushing the red rose symbol of the Socialist Party, he said.

Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist leader, spent the week-end campaigning. He called on voters who had been deceived by "the lies of the common programme" to realize that there was a true alternative to those lies.

The Socialists have been trying over the weekend to put their house in order. Their leaders have been agreeing on a text describing the party's position after the breakdown of talks with the Communists over the common programme. The Socialist invitation to resume talks is to be on the table, he said.

The French left-wing trade unions—the Communist CGT and the Socialist CFDT—have always been more in accord than the parties. This week, therefore, the CFDT is seeking a meeting with all three parties of the left to see if it can find a solution.

Anti-Russian outburst in East Berlin

Berlin, Oct. 9.—East German police used water cannon and batons in clashes with some 500 young people in the centre of East Berlin on Friday night when a dispute over a pop concert led to an anti-Soviet outburst, informed sources said.

The trouble occurred after an accident in the Alexanderplatz in which eight people became trapped in a ventilation shaft 30ft deep. They said one person was killed in the accident.

The cover of the shaft collapsed under the weight of hundreds of young people who were waiting for the pop concert.

The demonstration began after police sealed off the area and closed restaurants and a dancing club. The crowd shouted: "Russians get out" and "Germany awake," an old Nazi slogan.

The protests were the second anti-Government outburst in recent months. A few months ago several hundred youths burnt blue shirts of the East German Youth League at festivities in the district of Pankow, the sources said.—Reuter.

Wall collapse kills 11 scavengers

Moscow, Oct. 9.—At least 11 people scavenging in the rubble of a burnt-out building died here yesterday when a concrete wall fell on them, police said. Three of the victims were children.—AP.

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Egyptian and Israeli ministers describe peace talks formula

From Patrick Brogan, Washington, Oct. 9

The Egyptian and Israeli foreign ministers appeared separately on television here today and gave the most detailed public account so far of the proposed formula for the Geneva peace conference.

The composition of the Arab delegations and the way the conference's work should be split up has been a source of contention for months, and the Americans have made a big diplomatic effort to resolve it.

A joint Arab delegation would go to Geneva to meet the Israelis. Its members would be officials from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and representatives of the Palestinians.

Mr. Moshe Dayan, the Israeli Foreign Minister, said that these Palestinian representatives must come from Gaza and the West Bank, not from refugee camps in Lebanon and Jordan. He said that Israel would deal with, say, the mayors of Hebron and Nablus so long as they represented the West Bank Palestinians, but Israel would not recognize, nor negotiate with, those self-styled men if they claimed to represent the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The convened conference would be opened with a formal plenary session, at which the American Secretary of State and the Soviet Foreign Minister would preside. The Israelis would then meet the Arab delegation. This session would conduct no substantive talks. Mr. Dayan said that he hoped that the American and Russian role would end there.

Then the conference would split up into subcommittees. For example, it would deal with problems defined geographically: Israel would meet the Egyptians, the Jordanians, the Syrians and the Lebanese to discuss frontiers and peace treaties.

Mr. Dayan was not asked whether Israel would accept the presence of some Palestinians in those talks, among the Lebanese and Jordanian delegates. A fifth subcommittee, consisting of representatives of Israel, Jordan, Egypt and the Palestinians, would meet to discuss the Palestine question. Mr. Dayan said once again that Israel would not talk about the establishment of a Palestinian state, and said that if the matter were brought up, Israel would walk out.

Asked what sort of original he would like to see on West Bank, he said that should be modelled on Jerusalem, where Jews and Palestinians live peacefully together and cross from one side to the other without difficulty.

Mr. Fahmoud again asked to see past Arab mistakes, said that Egypt wanted peace because it has had enough "those volcanic explosions which caused over 100,000 deaths. (He blamed all of them on Israel.)"

Cairo talks on relations with Libya

Mrs Gandhi could be arrested at any time, minister says

Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the former Indian Prime Minister, said she now realises last March was "probably the best possible moment" to have chosen for holding a general election. In the March election the Congress Party, which had ruled India since independence, was defeated.

She was talking to foreign correspondents last night, after she had returned to her house in poor rural areas of Gujarat, the home state of her maternal uncle, Morarji Desai, the present Prime Minister.

"That only shows how little we now know India", she replied when asked whether she had not been surprised by the enthusiastic reception she provoked, compared to the election defeat in March. Asked what would be the result if held now, Mrs Gandhi replied cautiously: "Difficult to say."

She maintained she had been reluctant to hold a general election so as to consolidate the objectives for which she had set a state of emergency in June 1975. At midnight she now saw that there had been a combination of "happenings and forces" at the moment she selected to go to the country which were all unfavourable.

Mrs Gandhi seemed very pleased with the results of her tour in which she frequently attacked Mr Desai's Janata Government which arrested many of her generals and officers, she looked extraordinarily relaxed for a woman nearly 60 who had just completed a grueling political tour.

Her gesture during the tour taking food with members of the Janata Party, she brought immediate recognition to a Janata Party senior official, who this weekend sent a letter to leading party members, including Cabinet Ministers, telling them to copy Mrs Gandhi's example to improve the Government's image with the down-trodden masses".

Mrs Gandhi denied that any people had simply come to see her after her arrest by the Janata Government. "I am because I am what I am", she asserted firmly. "I sympathise with them sincerely and they are conscious we did have programmes to help them fulfil promises, programmes which the present Government is reversing."

"I have a role to play, but if you are asking whether I am going to stand for some office

Rhodesians attacked on train in Botswana

Outwardly Zambia does not look like a country which is supposed to be on war alert. The hot spring days have brought out the jacarandas and bougainvilleas which have been the capital into a blaze of brilliant colour.

Public attention seems more focused on the Lusaka international tennis championships than events south of the Zambezi. Even the shortages of foodstuffs which have been causing the most constant cause of complaint among Zambia's affluent middle classes and the expatriates—less severe than usual.

However, President Kaunda and his cabinet members have continued to build up a war psychosis. Their public utterances are peppered with warnings to the populace to be alert and prepared for attack. They have ordered to dig defensive trenches and mount round-the-clock guard. Camouflaged military vehicles can be seen moving continuously back and forth between Lusaka and the Rhodesian border.

Last month this war of nerves reached its climax when a 8 pm to 5 am curfew and blackout was ordered in Lusaka and the other urban towns after an alleged Rhodesian bombing attack on a Zambian border town.

So rigorously was it put into effect, that people living in Lusaka's sprawling shanty towns were ordered to extinguish the fires on which they were cooking their evening meals.

The Zambians do not seem to know what to make of all this governmental sub-terranean. Few of them seem to believe seriously that Mr Smith's army would actually launch an invasion into Zambia, particularly when they read in the newspapers that while all this is going on President Kaunda has been playing host to Mr Smith in Lusaka.

Instead, a widely held view is that the Government is invoking the "Rhodesia threat" to distract attention from Zambia's own problems.

This view is perhaps unduly cynical. There can be little doubt that President Kaunda is concerned about the war in Rhodesia and fears that it could spill over into disturbing developments in doing in Mozambique. However, it is equally true that the Rhodesian crisis is being used as scapegoat for problems that are often of Zambia's own making.

One of the causes of these problems has been the fall in the price of copper, Zambia's main source of foreign exchange. But this has been compounded by a considerable loss of confidence in foreign management in government departments and state-controlled organizations. The result has been a high level of inflation, growing unemployment and shortages of every kind.

It is this loss of confidence, with much grumbling against the Government, the country's sole party, the United National

with the prospect of presidential elections in 1980. A month before elections looming next year, Dr. Kaunda decided to act. First he dismissed two ministers and a minister of state. Then he shuffled round some provincial leaders and made changes in Zambia's diplomatic representation abroad.

Two months ago he abruptly dismissed Mr. Elijah Mubumba, the Prime Minister, and replaced him with Mr. Mainza Chona, his Legal Affairs Minister—a move which was clearly designed to give a new dynamic to the Government, more than there had been under the somewhat lack-lustre Mr. Mubumba.

A month later Mr. Aaron Mliler, the Home Affairs Minister, was removed and replaced by the head of anti-trusts, Mr. Willard Pili. This change caused considerable surprise as Mr. Mliler was a close friend and golfing companion of the President and had reputation for being one of the most effective and hard-working members of the Government.

The changes were accompanied by widespread criticism about "dark corner meetings" and "conspiracies" to remove the Government. Whether such allegations had any foundation is unclear, but what is certain is that the President realized there was an urgent need to strengthen the Government and the party before the elections. Although Unip cannot be defeated, being

Three weeks ago President Kaunda played his trump when he persuaded his former friend, later turned political rival, Mr Simon Kapwepwe, to rejoin Unip.

Mr Kapwepwe, who was once Vice-President, broke away from Unip in 1972 to form the United Party for National Development (UPND). The party, which the UPF was banned and Mr Kapwepwe and more than 100 of his followers were detained. Since his release in 1973 he has been living on his farm in Chinsali, North-Eastern Zambia.

Mr Kapwepwe is important, not only because he is the best-known political figure in Zambia after the President, but also because he is the figurehead of the influential Bemba tribe. Since independence 13 years ago President Kaunda has always tried to maintain a delicate balance among the nation's 70 or so tribes, but the influence of the Bemba tribe from the political scene he lost support among the Bemba, particularly in the Copperbelt, perberty.

Mr Kapwepwe said he had decided to rejoin Unip "for the sake of the complete unity of the nation". There is little doubt that his gesture will have a unifying effect and should ensure President Kaunda a fair showing at the polls. It seems equally likely that Mr Kapwepwe will soon be appointed once again to high office.

The Rhodesian Government has protested to Botswana about the treatment of a Rhodesian family who were abused and assaulted by three African men at Francistown railway station yesterday.

The men boarded the train, which was on its way through Botswana from South Africa to Rhodesia, and demanded to be let into the compartment of Mr. and Mrs. Robin Summers, of Bulawayo. One of the men was armed with a pistol.

Mr. Summers locked his compartment but the blacks threatened to shoot him if he did not open it and Mr. Summers had no option but to open the compartment door. As the men entered one slapped Mr. Summers across the face and another hit him on the neck with a knife.

The thief asked if he was in the Rhodesian security forces and demanded to see the family's passports. They threatened to shoot the Summers' six-month-old baby if they did not co-operate. When Mr. Summers asked the men to leave her husband alone one hit her in the stomach.

An African policeman at Francistown station refused to help the Summers.

The same gang entered the dining car and demanded to see the passports of passengers there. On showing his passport one white man dressed in a uniform was taken off the train with three white companions. One of the whites was beaten up

from Our Correspondent
Kishambad, Oct 9

A full bench of five judges of the Lahore High Court for the day cancelled bail for Mr Bhutto, the former Prime Minister, now accused in a 1974 political murder case, and ordered that he be sent back to judicial custody.

Mr Bhutto had been released on bail by a judge of the Lahore High Court on September 13. He was taken into custody by police on September 17.

Mr Bhutto pleaded through his counsel today that he had no faith in the impartiality of Maulvi Mushtaq Hussain, the sitting Chief Justice, who presided over the bench cancelling his bail. The court ordered Mr Bhutto to appear at regular hearings beginning early next week, when his objections to the Chief Justice would also be heard.

Petrol bomb attack at new airport

Narita, Japan, Oct. 9. (AP)—Helmeted demonstrators burning petrol bombs forced their way into the new Tokyo airport today in a lorry, police said.

A guard post and three vehicles were destroyed before the demonstrators, numbering more than 20, drove off. No one was injured.

The airport was closed in 1973 but its opening, now due next year, has been delayed by a series of attacks by extremists protesting against the Government's takeover of land.—Reuter.

Nairobi, Oct. 9.—The Ethiopian Army lost its main tank and radar base at Jijiga because a mutiny broke out as Somali forces advanced on the town, informed sources in Addis Ababa said today.

Reporters who have been taken to Jijiga by the Western Somalia Liberation Front were astonished to find no signs of fighting in the narrow mountain pass behind the town. Italian forces with only a few machine guns held up British troops below the pass for a month during the Second World War.

The sources in Addis Ababa said the pass was not defended by the Ethiopian Third Army Division because it retreated through the pass to its headquarters in the old walled city of Harar in full flight. A column

died in the mutiny at Jijiga, the sources said.
 The sources added that after Jijiga fell last month Lieutenant-Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Ethiopian Head of State, flew to Harar to attempt to get the Third Division to hold the line there.
 In Mogadishu, Somali "liberation forces" claimed they had killed 250 Ethiopian soldiers and 100 Somali fighters for control of Ethiopia's southern province of Bale.
 The clashes involved guerrillas of the Somali-Abo Liberation Front, an offshoot of the Western Somalia Liberation Front, and members of the Ethiopian Army and peasants' militia, according to a communiqué published by the Somali-backed insurgents.
Source: New York Times, 1989, and Agence France Press.



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OVERSEAS

Missing Briton said to have been beaten to death in Uganda jail

From Our Correspondent
Nairobi, Oct 9

Ugandan refugees arriving here say there is no doubt that Mr Robert Scanlon, the British-born engineer arrested in Uganda in June, is dead. One report, from a Ugandan who claims first-hand knowledge, says he was beaten to death in Kampala on September 14, eight days before the Uganda Government announced that he had "escaped from military custody".

According to this report, Mr Scanlon had his skull crushed with a hammer either by his guards or by other prisoners who were ordered to kill him. Three Ugandan prisoners are said to have died in the same fashion at the time.

There is no official confirmation of the reports from Uganda. The Uganda Government has made no reference to Mr Scanlon since September 22, when it claimed he had escaped from military custody "somewhere in Uganda" two weeks earlier.

The report then said that he was presumed to have been freed by British intelligence agents, and asked Ugandans with a knowledge of Mr Scanlon's whereabouts to inform the authorities.

Mr Scanlon had lived in Uganda for 13 years. He ran an electrical engineering business for some years, and after the 1971 military coup was appointed manager of a bus

company seized from its British owners.

Later he became the Uganda service manager of Cooper Motors, a Kenya-based company.

In 1975, he was one of a group of Europeans who carried President Amin's shoulder-high to a chair to symbolize the white man's burden. Soon after this he accepted an offer of Ugandan citizenship, and was enrolled as a member of the Uganda armed forces reserve, kneeling before President Amin to take the oath of loyalty.

Before his arrest he had been importing radio equipment from Britain for the Ugandan Army. It was alleged that a radio transmitter was found in his house—presumably a sample of the goods he was importing—and he was arrested for alleged spying.

The Uganda Government claimed that he was about to be brought to trial before a military tribunal when he "escaped".

His wife, Gloria, who is a British subject, left Uganda to return to Britain shortly before the announcement of his "escape" was made. Their children had returned to Britain earlier.

Mr Scanlon is believed to be the first white man to be killed in jail in Uganda, although two Americans were murdered in an army barracks there in 1971.

Amin refusal to pay debt of E African community

From Our Correspondent
Nairobi, Oct 9

In a message marking the fifteenth anniversary of Uganda's independence today, President Amin announced that his country would accept no liability for the East African Community, which collapsed in July after linking Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania for 10 years.

He complained that Kenya and Tanzania had "grabbed" all the assets of the Community, although Uganda had contributed equally towards them. He said its collapse was a tragedy, but that "selfish leaders in collaboration with neo-colonialists and imperialists" meant the political leaders of Kenya and Tanzania.

President Amin's message said that Uganda would make it clear to the Community's external creditors that Uganda had no liability to them. The outstanding debts of the Community run into hundreds of millions of pounds. The World Bank is the biggest creditor, but large sums are also owed to the British Government and the Crown Agents, as well as to many goods suppliers, such as oil companies.

President Amin's announcement comes only a few days after the question of the Community's debts, which include substantial loans for transport and telecommunications equipment, were discussed at the World Bank's annual meeting in Washington.

In a message which ranged over internal and external issues, President Amin told Ugandans today that their country had survived economically, in spite of predictions that it would collapse when he expelled Asians and took over many British firms in 1972. He congratulated Ugandan farmers for maintaining production, and said that Ugandans must be supplied with more of the goods they now lack, such as textiles, salt, soap and sugar.

Lusaka, Oct 9.—President Amin reacted angrily to President Amin's assertion last Friday that President Kaunda of Zambia was "a double-dealer" who was backing the liberation of southern Africa.

A Government party newspaper said of President Amin that most of the world "would dearly love to see his bulky torso floating down the Nile". A Government spokesman described the Ugandan leader as "a man who always utters nonsense in order to make news headlines". — Reuters and Agence France-Presse.

Sino-Soviet agreement on river frontier navigation

Moscow, Oct 9.—The Soviet Union and China, after eight years of talks, have reached a limited agreement on rules of navigation on the disputed Ussuri River frontier, according to announcements here and in Peking.

The agreement, however, appears not to affect the bitter dispute over large sections of the border itself. The two countries have held intermittent talks on the border issue ever since armed clashes on Damansky Island in March, 1969.

A brief Tass announcement merely said that the Sino-Soviet navigation commission had met on Chinese territory in the town of Heilong, on the border where the Amur and Ussuri rivers join the Khabarovsk and adopted new rules of navigation on border sections of the rivers.

The session ended last Thursday, and the next meeting would be in the Soviet Union.

A western diplomat said that an agreement would apparently allow Chinese ships to pass through the north channel of

Prisoners of conscience



Tanzania: Abdulrahman Muhammad Babu

By David Watts

Mr Abdulrahman Muhammad Babu, Tanzania's former Minister of Economic Affairs, has been detained without charge or trial since 1972. Zanzibar Revolutionary Council.

He was arrested in Dar es Salaam after allegations that he had planned the assassination of President Karume of Zanzibar and the overthrow of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council. However, the mainland Tanzania authorities refused to hand him over to the Zanzibar authorities since there was no guarantee that he would get a fair trial.

During the following year Mr Babu and 12 others were tried in absentia for conspiring to overthrow the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council while being held on the mainland under the Preventive Detention Act, which provides for indefinite detention without trial. Mr Babu was sentenced to death on the basis of information obtained through torture. Mr Wolfgang Dourado, the prosecuting attorney general also played the role of defence counsel—the only one permitted.

Mr Babu's final plea for clemency, filed with Mr Abdul Juma, the Tanzanian Vice-President, who is President of the Zanzibar Revolutionary Council, however, do not recognize Zanzibar verdicts.

Mr Babu, who was educated at London University and was an active member of the British Labour Party. He entered politics at home when he became general secretary of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP) in 1957. He resigned from ZNP in 1963 to form the Marxist Umma party, which was banned a few months later.

Mr Babu is held in solitary confinement at Ukonga prison in Dar es Salaam. At the beginning of this year he was reported to have become almost blind because of poor conditions and lack of medical care.

JP: I noticed in an article you write, I think it was concerned presentation that was published in the *Uganda Review* some time ago, you perceived a moment, a time of pessimism in the West but also pessimism in the East—a lack of confidence in the Communist countries. There's a general pessimism in the developed societies?

ZB: Yes, because both the western society and the Communist society—and a Communist society is really a derivative western society because Marxism is a western concept applied in semi-feudal societies—have based their concept of the future largely on the basis of some idealized conception of a state of well-being which some day will emerge. In a way it's a perception of the future which is based on the notion of some sort of Utopian condition. In one sense, this is rooted in religion. In another sense, nationalism implies somehow or other the idea that if you achieve your nationhood things will be well, provided you merge yourself with it. In different ways Rousseau and others contributed to that.

Marxism, too, has a concept of the future which, for all of its historical dynamism, is a curiously static concept. You reach the Communist society, and you have reached the state of well-being. I think what western man has learned is that the Communists are learning even more painfully, is that you never reach the state of perfection, that all social change is a process, that this process can point towards an improvement, but it is not a destination. That you cannot a priori be certain as to which it will be. I think this has induced in western man a sense of uneasiness, which is coupled with tremendous awakening of aspirations worldwide and concomitant with it a certain sense of guilt on the part of western man over the fact that he's well-to-do, relatively speaking, while much of the rest of humanity is very poor. Speaking now personally, I remain very optimistic. I remain optimistic both intellectually and politically.

JP: You have singled out that one of the necessary components in realizing that optimism is leadership. I remember in *Encounter* you wrote that: "The real need for leadership in the United States is not for personal leadership. Charismatic appeal, real or manufactured by mass media, is not the historical need at the moment. The need is for spiritual leadership." You wrote this some five years ago, and then along comes Jimmy Carter, who also talks of spiritual leadership. I wonder what you meant by "spiritual leadership" when you wrote that, and also whether as you meant it you see it now in President Carter?

ZB: I think that the reference to Carter is very much derivative of these deeply held views. I have, as you note, felt very strongly that what makes society tick is a shared belief that what makes a society creative is the loss of belief. But to me it is that is morally just and perceived as such, and that a society that doesn't believe in anything is a society in a state of dissolution. I think one of the dangers that the West confronted and is confronting is the loss of belief. But to me it is not consumption. The West has shifted increasingly the basis of its own legitimacy from a transcendental view of man to essentially a GNP-type orientation divided into per capita increments. And that is not enough. This I think to me is what I said that spiritual leadership is needed. That is to say, a sense of historical direction which is based on the notion that man is more than just a material being and that the end of spiritual and political action is cumulative elevation over the material condition of man. But this does not mean asceticism. It does mean that we have to be conscious of social justice and of welfare. We have to create the pre-conditions for a spiritual elevation over the material. Carter came along, and sent in him an orientation which though probably derived from different roots, was in some ways fundamentally similar.

JP: One of the fundamental themes you pinpointed is how in a sense this is the age of equality, and that this is very close to the essence of the Christian tradition. And yet we've got many people today, arguing that the idea of equality has now gone forward so far that we are in danger of a greyness, a lack of initiative, a lack of inspiration. And although the welfare state isn't as far advanced here, you've always really had that criticism of the effort to strive towards a concept of equality. Yet you, I think, use the word "equality" quite important, quite fundamental, in your foreign policy, isn't it?

ZB: Well, I wouldn't use the word equality, although I must confess I've used it at times. I would prefer, if I wanted to be more precise, use the word "equity". I do think that the age of liberty was closely connected with eighteenth and nineteenth-century developments which originated in Western Europe and spread to America. Indeed, America became the standard-bearer of the concept of liberty. I do think with the worldwide explosion in political consciousness, the issue of equity has surfaced on a global scale. To some extent it had surfaced earlier within the context of the industrial state itself. Much of democratic evolution over the past hundred years has involved greater access to political participation, greater opportunities for the underprivileged. That is equity, I suppose, in a sense, that is equality, if one doesn't give a strict, mechanical interpretation to the meaning of equality. Equality to me doesn't mean that everybody wears the same kind of suit, rides the same kind of bicycle, and reads the slogans. That's not equality, that's regimentation. There has to be a balance, therefore, struck between equality and the need for liberty, which gives man the opportunity for self-expression, for the fulfilment of the self, for the attainment of his goals, whatever they are, for each individual. The genius of modern democracy, to me, lies in finding the right balance between liberty and equality defined in that sense, or equity. Increasingly, the same combination of issues is becoming central in world affairs. This is why I stress so much that the role of the United States in world affairs should not be that of preserving the status quo, or maintaining balance of



One man's eye on the world

power, but rather, giving change, positive direction, the desire to make possible a just and creative blend between liberty and equity, or if you will, equality. I think if the United States can do that then it will gain for itself as creative a role as it acquired initially by securing the standard-bearer of liberty. We live today in a world in which national self-determination has, by and large (although there are some notable exceptions) been attained. We are increasingly moving into a phase in world affairs in which the organization of a global community is needed. And that organization will only be possible if the United States particularly provides some of the needed momentum for blending liberty with equality over developing codes of international obligations.

JP: What would you do if Euro-Communists came to power? Do you feel you would have to do something, some kind of response is necessary?

ZB: Well, first of all, we do not wish the Communist parties to come to power in Western Europe. Secondly, we have confidence that the Western European electorates will use their best judgment to preserve democratic systems and will therefore opt for democratic parties. Thirdly, we have to deal with the world as it is. Fourthly, the existence of Euro-Communist parties, as of themselves, does not constitute a threat to the West. It is a catchword for West European Communist parties. Some of them have begun de-Stalinization, but they're only begun it, like the French. Some of them are relatively de-Stalinized, but are still highly Leninist, like the Italian. Some are de-Stalinized and probably are de-Leninized, such as perhaps the Spanish. It's useful to bear these distinctions in mind because I think they enable us to make more discriminating judgments in regard to specific West European Communist parties.

JP: A question on South Africa. George Ball in the recent issue of *Atlantic* has written quite a strong attack on present American policy in Southern Africa. Ball argued that the United States may provoke upheaval at a faster rate than it will develop in South Africa left alone. And I wonder whether you've got second thoughts about the push you're making?

ZB: I would say that what is at stake here is of really major importance, both in international and human terms. What is at stake is how to avoid a trans-continental war, which will simultaneously be a black versus white and a red versus white war. In other words, a war which will intensify the racial conflict into an ideological conflict. What is at stake here is the livelihood of some millions of people, black and white. What is at stake here, in short, is how to avoid historical tragedy. There's no doubt that there are compelling reasons why the South African society has to undergo a progressive process of transformation. Its values, its social arrangements are out of keeping with the spirit and moral imperatives of the times. It is a society in which there is a deep legacy of history. Three hundred years of white society, some of whom fought for their own independence, only 70-some odd years ago. They are deeply engrained national feelings, reinforced by history and by the Bible. These are not circumstances which are amenable to easy change. These are circumstances which have to be dealt with compassion and with a sense of historical perspective.

What we're trying to do is to encourage a process of change which will outpace what otherwise looks like a rather apocalyptic alternative. We're not putting pressure on South Africa to commit suicide. We're trying to get the South Africans to rethink the historical legacy of their own country, so that through change that society can survive and make possible the cohabitation of the white and black communities.

JP: What seemed to have really upset George Ball, and we knew it upset the South Africans, is what Vice-President Mondale said at his press conference in Vienna, after meeting with Vorster. He said that he really did believe in pursuit, fairly fast to one-man, one-vote.

ZB: I'm sorry that upset George, for whom not only have I the highest regard, but whom I consider a friend. However, the fact of the matter is that the notion of one-man, one-vote is rooted in some very basic assumptions of what man is about. Namely, that irrespective of man's formal training, irrespective of social status, and certainly irrespective of his colour, that man fundamentally

is a spiritual being, quite similar, quite equal, and entitled to certain fundamental rights. One-man-one-vote is simply the political expression of that fundamentally important philosophical attitude, which is at the very root of what this society is all about. And which is at the root of what the world hopefully is becoming. I don't think that's an inflammatory statement. That's a definition of an end objective. Moving towards that end objective will take time. Our point is that that movement has to accelerate, if it is to purport the twin horses of apocalypse, namely racial war and ideological war.

JP: And you take issue with Ball in believing that cumulative economic, social and political pressures are more likely to enable you to make a contribution which will help produce a less violent situation, rather than as he says, have the effect of fuelling the pace of violent intervention?

ZB: I have an acute awareness of the limit of my own information and good judgment, and I don't say that in any snide or imperially intellectual or arrogant sense. But my reading of South African developments is that over the past several decades they have moved, in terms of apartheid, not in the right direction. To be sure there have been some marginal improvements lately. The question is, are they enough? To circumvent, which are really quite different, from those which apartheid seems to be based on.

JP: One of the great surprises of your writing on the Soviet Union, is that you seem to think that Stalinism saved the world from an even more dangerous Russia than it was under its regime.

ZB: I wouldn't use the words save mankind or save the world, which ever words you use. I don't think it's an issue of salvation. The point is that the world is a dangerous place, paradoxical without being exaggerated. It is simply this: Russia is a great society. It is a great country. It is a country with a really impressive imperial tradition. Like all countries it is likely to go through an intensifying and then declining imperial cycle. I'd argue the United States, for example, entered into an imperial cycle early in the century and then peaked, and American national consciousness is now focused more on organizing the well-being of the world than on promoting—in a de-Stalinized fashion—American political or economic imperial ambitions. My argument is that Stalinism has sapped the creative intellectual vitality of the Russian people. Stalinism was particularly destructive. It would be hard for me, for anyone, to argue that killing

millions of your best people, incarcerating millions more, shooting your entire general staff, executing many of your intellectuals, declaring your political elite, is a particularly constructive undertaking. To boot, the processes of industrialization which were undertaken under Stalinism, were not more impressive than those achieved in other societies with similar results, but at much lower social cost. I consider Stalinism not only to have been an historical crime, but a tremendous historical mistake.

JP: So paradoxically, since Russia will always be an imperial power that would threaten American and western interests, one has a perverse interest in the maintenance of that grey regime?

ZB: No, I don't think it follows. Because only if one assumed that imperial regimes always remain imperial, then that logic would follow. But my point is there are cycles in it. Just as the United States has gone through an imperial cycle, and one could cite relations between the United States and some other countries to the South or in the Far East which were truly imperialistic, think in terms of respects almost colonialist, and then changed. So it is my hope that the Soviet Union or the Russians will increasingly move into the world in a more cooperative, less imperially assertive fashion and begin participating in what is gradually, truly emerging: namely, a global community. And I believe that this kind of a process is more likely to manifest itself in the context of political, intellectual pluralism or diversity.

JP: I suppose this is the purpose in part of your human rights strategy, yet many people are asking: can you produce democracy in the Soviet Union? Are the democrats there? Solzhenitsyn comes out of the Soviet Union and says his ideal regime was Franco's Spain.

ZB: I don't want to be that quote about Solzhenitsyn's past; I'm not sure he would have said that. It seems

to me that the emergence of more democratic values is something which is inherent in the human condition. I'd argue that lip service that is paid to democracy, the various democratic constitutions that have been adopted in many countries, even if not applied in practice, in itself is an acknowledgment of the compelling power of mankind's demand for human rights. In the final analysis, hypocrisy is a blow in virtue.

JP: The Soviet Union perceives that the human rights strategy is a direct threat, direct interference. Indeed, a senior Soviet diplomat argued, the other day, that if you start publicly banging away at the old leaders and in a sense solidifying their cause behind them.

ZB: First of all, I don't think that anybody has been banging away at any old leaders.

JP: Well they see it as a direct threat, interpret it.

ZB: It's like saying some old ladies are having dreams about me. I can't help their dreams. I can't help when a Soviet diplomat whispers to you. All I can comment on is what we have and have not been doing, and we have not been banging away at old leaders, to quote you or him. The point is, however, that if people are concerned about the power of the human rights idea, they're thereby acknowledging that this idea is compelling. And they are acknowledging it not because anybody is raising it from the outside or reinforcing it with threats, because it hasn't happened, but they're acknowledging the fact that it is compelling because obviously it has some internal resonance. That I find a good sign for humanity. Indeed, I believe that the historical inevitability of our times is not some Utopian resolution but it is the increasing self-awareness of man on behalf of his own human rights. This is the inevitability of our times, and I think it is a good thing for the United States to be associated with that.

JP: Kissinger has argued that nuclear superiority is meaningless in an age of overkill. Many people consider him wrong, but I wonder where you stand on that issue?

ZB: I don't consider nuclear superiority to be politically meaningless. I can fully acknowledge the fact that at a certain point strategic weaponry ceases to exercise marginal significance in terms of marginal differences and consequences, if you will. However, the perception by others of one self of someone else having more unquote strategic superiority can influence political behaviour. It can induce some countries to act in a fashion that sometimes has been described in "Fidelian" terms. And it can induce self-imposed restraint on the party that feels weaker and last but not least, it can induce the party that feels that it enjoys strategic superiority to act politically in a more assertive fashion.

JP: So you don't think we're in a state of obvious military balance, that these small changes that are being argued over are in a sense peripheral, that the general essentials of agreement are being lost in a debate that's being argued on marginal issues?

ZB: I wouldn't say the debate, if you're talking about strategic arms limitations talks, is raging around peripheral issues. It's raging—although I wouldn't use the word raging—I don't think it's a raging debate—it's a serious discussion around rather central issues. Namely, what kind of systems are the Soviets deploying which are most threatening to us and viewed by us as most destabilizing in the strategic situation, and what kind of systems that we may be deploying now or in the future are similarly perceived by the Soviets. The name of the game is to identify these concerns, to understand each other's concerns and then to try to strike up an arrangement that is responsive to these concerns while at the same time being symmetrical in its numerical expression and in its political perception. The cumulative need to deal with these three areas: responsiveness to concerns, numerical symmetry, and equality in political perception, given the differentiated kinds of systems we have, is such that it's really very difficult to reach a quick agreement. Even with the best of will on both sides. And I happen to believe that there is the best of will on both sides. I think, in fact, I know, that we're negotiating in good faith and very much want to reach an agreement.

JP: What are the stumbling blocks—that no longer can one separate a strategic from a tactical weapon?

ZB: Well, I have already indicated to some extent the stumbling blocks. Namely, that what concerns us is different from what concerns them. Therefore, it may be difficult for them to understand the nature of our concerns, and vice versa. Secondly, given the differences in the nature of the systems, it is very difficult to reach equations which seem numerically equal. And it is all the more

In a first extended interview, Mr Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's national security adviser, here talks to Jonathan Power

difficult to make an arrangement that is politically perceived to be equal. We have very accurate but much smaller warheads. They have big missiles. We have planes with air-launched cruise missiles. They have these are all differences. They're really very, very complex indeed. JP: The total elimination of nuclear weapons was a constant Carter theme throughout his campaign and early days in office, but there's obviously a long way to go. But that kind of ambition—does it actually have a practical bite today?

ZB: I would say that it is the kind of morally imperative goal which has to be set in order to accelerate the process of change towards a desirable objective. Browning, I think, once said it rather well: "A man's goal should exceed his grasp or what's heaven for?" One doesn't expect to reach heaven with one's grasp, but one's pointing towards it. One begins to move in the right direction. I don't think anybody expects to reach quickly achieve a world totally free of nuclear weapons but if we begin to think about that goal as something which would be desirable to reach, then we begin to think about not only on strategic arms limitations talks, but also on containing nuclear proliferation. And thereby set in motion processes of change which over time could really become significant.

JP: But I am not initiated, any studies on what a non-nuclear world would look like, or how to achieve a non-nuclear world?

ZB: We are doing not so much studies but are trying in effect to move in that direction, and we're doing so on two fronts. One is trying to make strategic arms limitation talks. And that's a step in the right direction. And secondly, we are setting in motion the studies required to establish more convincingly that it is possible to have nuclear power for peaceful use without the weapon spin-offs which heretofore seemed to be associated with the development of nuclear energy.

JP: Stalinism, you said: "The nuclear weapon is something with which we frighten people with weak nerves. Isn't the best bargaining weapon

against another power with nuclear weapons not to have one's own, but to show that one would never give in to the blackmail. To say to the blackmailer, 'You can have it but only on my terms.' And then if he follows that line of reasoning through, then it becomes less anxious about one's own quantity or even quality of nuclear weapons stockpile.

ZB: No, I don't find that argument particularly convincing. And I don't think Stalin believed it because when people say, 'It is better to have it than not have it,' they are actually acknowledging that they are not strong enough to resist the blackmail. I don't think Stalin was a particularly strong man.

JP: Do you honestly think, in the final analysis as a human being, a Christian, a father, you could actually recommend to the President to push the button and kill millions of people?

ZB: I don't know whether I would. Certainly I think I would not do so. I think I would not do so. I think I would not do so. I think I would not do so.

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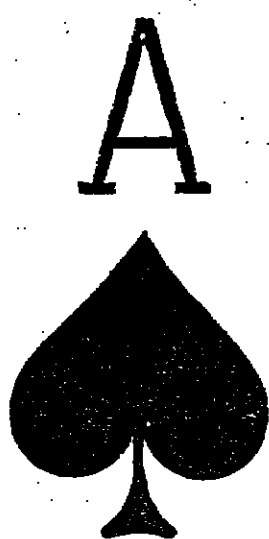
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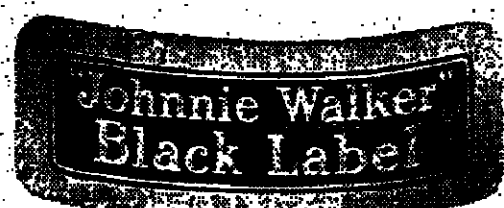
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EXTRA SPECIAL OLD SCOTCH WHISKY.

David Steel

Lib-Lab or Lib-Con: there is a third choice to change the see-saw of party politics

The Tory tune against the Lib-Lab agreement has suddenly changed. A few months ago it was simply: "You have deprived us of our rightful inheritance—a Conservative government". Now it is: "You are risking the return of a more socialist government" (Mr Timothy Raison was at it in the letter columns last week).

What is the explanation for this shift in Tory opinion? Is the inevitable loss in electoral self-confidence following the drop in the Tory opinion poll lead?

It is a profoundly undemocratic reaction. I take the view that if people are daft enough to vote a Labour majority into power, they are entitled to do so and must accept the consequences. I can see no possible democratic objection to Mr Foot's oft-repeated aim of preparing to secure a socialist majority at the next election. Isn't the Tory Party prepared to do the precise opposite?

Of course if we have fixed parliaments, we would remove the choice of dissolution date from the leader of the party in power and stop oppositionists believing that their highest duty to the nation was to turf out the government of the day at the earliest opportunity.

Indeed, if we are going to discuss reform seriously, both fixed term parliaments and electoral reform become essential parts of that debate.

Meanwhile the Tories nakedly proclaim a double standard. It was apparently quite right and proper for Adams to hang on to within weeks of the five-year parliamentary span in the hope of retrieving Tory un-



A mixing of parties: Mr Steel with, left, Mr Jack Ashley, Mr George Thomas and Sir Keith Joseph.

popularity after a string of disastrous by-election losses (which he very nearly succeeded in doing) but it is monstrous for Jim Callaghan to contemplate doing the same. Yet Labour is still the largest single party in the Commons, and thanks to the Lib-Lab agreement its programme is tailored to command the necessary majority.

When we reach the next election the electorate will have an enlarged choice. I say this deliberately because at each election from 1945 the choice has been restricted to the return of a Labour or Conservative government.

With the passage of years, but precious few have been

the steadily fading memories of previous Liberal governments have made appeals for the return of a Liberal government less and less credible. People vote Liberal some times as a protest (Mr Ronald But's favourite explanation), sometimes because they want to see some injection of Liberal philosophy into politics (a recent opinion poll showed the overwhelming majority would regret the demise of the Liberal Party) and sometimes because the Liberal candidate if elected will turn out to be a particularly diligent and agreeable MP.

These are all good reasons, but the great majority of public opinion wishes neither a Bennite nor Josephite government. To put it at its lowest the Liberal Party can provide the means of preventing either coming to pass.

To put it higher we can end the damaging see-saw effect that politics has had on our economy since the war. Industry is more and more desirous of a period of social and economic stability and continuity. That is difficult to achieve against a background of political chopping and changing with each incoming government determined to alter the course of its predecessor for purely doctrinaire reasons.

Nor can the Tory and Labour parties claim success for their

combined records. We have slid down the league table of national prosperity under their alternating administrations.

The trouble with such an appeal for the "sensible middle" to assert itself by securing a still larger Liberal wedge in the next Parliament is that it sounds wet, unadventurous and unconvincing. In fact I believe that the most profoundly radical changes we need to make in British society can come only from the centre.

The introduction next year of tax incentives for profit-sharing schemes to encourage partnership and productivity in industry is but a tiny step in the direction we ought to take as a country towards a cooperative spirit and away from the class-conscious confrontation attitudes fostered within the Tory and Labour parties.

Indeed the whole theme and message of Sir Ian's book is a lucid, scholarly and I believe unanswerable argument against ideology in politics in general and its specially disastrous embodiment in the Tory party in particular. When the party occupies the middle ground, common ground, consensual ground—call it what you will—it prospers, when it abandons this terrain it declines.

The shift to the right in the party in 1970 under Mr Heath was largely rhetorical and it is the same under his successor Mrs Thatcher today. With the underlying themes of this book although not with all the conclusions she would find herself in broad agreement. She knows as well as Sir Ian that for the Conservative Party

there is no alternative to "moderation" or as Bagehot put it "a English middle". The principles that matter. This is not to deny that the political terms of trade have shifted over the past few years markedly to the right, but to proclaim that in England extremists will not prosper.

Myth is being propagated by some who should know better that over the post-war period there has been a decline from some past golden age of Conservatism, that there has been a betrayal of its principles and that the last ark of the covenant must now be recovered. This is pretty good nonsense. It would exclude from the pantheon of true Tories not only Butler, Macmillan, Heath and the late Lord Avon, Lord Douglas Home and even Sir Winston Churchill himself. A golden age of the past is an aberration of the right just as a golden age of the future is one of the left; they are mirror images one of the other and equally delusive. If one has to go back to the administration of Mr Bonar Law to find the true Toryism, heaven preserve us all.

As in practice, so in theory, Sir Ian's book is convincing enough that the tradition of moderate non-systematic Toryism goes back to Halifax and flows on unbrokenly through Bellingham, Hume, Burke and Disraeli down to Lord Salisbury and Lord Salisbury. The second part of Sir Ian's book is made up of potted synopses of these luminaries' thoughts which however helpful to the university student are a bit of a drag on the general reader. There is a series of fences after Sir Ian's spirited opening chapter and I was delighted to break into a gallop with him again in the third and final part of the book.

Here the author tackles one of the most intractable problems of political science—what is the essence of Conservatism? Professor Samuel Beer essayed the same task in his study "Modern English Conservatism" while he taught the history of British socialism, at least as it was in 1964, his Tory quarry eluded him, perhaps because Toryism is not an "ism" at all, but a complex of attitudes

Philip Howard

Geoffrey Smith

The essence of Conservatism: going at a gallop with Sir Ian

Sir Ian Gilmour is that rare creature a Tory intellectual (and even odder) at the same time a practising politician, who held high office in Mr Heath's administration, drafted the Conservative election manifesto of October 1974, and now serves as a senior member of Mrs Thatcher's shadow cabinet. All this promises to give his book, *Inside Right: A Study of Conservatism*, unique authority and interest as a conservative's view of politics and it fully lives up to expectations, yet Sir Ian's very position as an active participant in politics he is a loyal member of a team and sometimes has to pull his punches to avoid knocking a colleague clean out of the ring. Fortunately Mr Ian Gilmour is still around, with the added convenience of being clear of the Conservative Party, to provide a convenient surrogate of the horrid fate of the ideologue in British politics.

Indeed the whole theme and message of Sir Ian's book is a lucid, scholarly and I believe unanswerable argument against ideology in politics in general and its specially disastrous embodiment in the Tory party in particular. When the party occupies the middle ground, common ground, consensual ground—call it what you will—it prospers, when it abandons this terrain it declines.

The shift to the right in the party in 1970 under Mr Heath was largely rhetorical and it is the same under his successor Mrs Thatcher today. With the underlying themes of this book although not with all the conclusions she would find herself in broad agreement. She knows as well as Sir Ian that for the Conservative Party

there is no alternative to "moderation" or as Bagehot put it "a English middle". The principles that matter. This is not to deny that the political terms of trade have shifted over the past few years markedly to the right, but to proclaim that in England extremists will not prosper.

Myth is being propagated by some who should know better that over the post-war period there has been a decline from some past golden age of Conservatism, that there has been a betrayal of its principles and that the last ark of the covenant must now be recovered. This is pretty good nonsense. It would exclude from the pantheon of true Tories not only Butler, Macmillan, Heath and the late Lord Avon, Lord Douglas Home and even Sir Winston Churchill himself. A golden age of the past is an aberration of the right just as a golden age of the future is one of the left; they are mirror images one of the other and equally delusive. If one has to go back to the administration of Mr Bonar Law to find the true Toryism, heaven preserve us all.

As in practice, so in theory, Sir Ian's book is convincing enough that the tradition of moderate non-systematic Toryism goes back to Halifax and flows on unbrokenly through Bellingham, Hume, Burke and Disraeli down to Lord Salisbury and Lord Salisbury. The second part of Sir Ian's book is made up of potted synopses of these luminaries' thoughts which however helpful to the university student are a bit of a drag on the general reader. There is a series of fences after Sir Ian's spirited opening chapter and I was delighted to break into a gallop with him again in the third and final part of the book.

Here the author tackles one of the most intractable problems of political science—what is the essence of Conservatism? Professor Samuel Beer essayed the same task in his study "Modern English Conservatism" while he taught the history of British socialism, at least as it was in 1964, his Tory quarry eluded him, perhaps because Toryism is not an "ism" at all, but a complex of attitudes



Sir Ian Gilmour: lucid.

infinitely more subtle and rich than the over-simplifications of socialism and liberalism. It is made up, as Sir Ian writes, of the strands of freedom, patriotism, a national party, one nation, national unity, authority, continuity, the rule of law, the improvement of social and economic conditions, balance of payments, the well of course of the importance of circumstance... these themes are the single or separate. Each by itself would be sufficient to define the party and they have to be worked out together.

The author never forgets that the Conservative Party is a party of power not of protest. It plays a balancing and corrective role in relation to the orthodoxies and the heresies of the age but it never sets itself against the spirit of the times. So today it remembers that the seventeenth century, poor creature though it may be, is the best century we have got, and the only one we have to redeem.

From such basic attitudes sensible and moderate policies flow and find their way to the balance of power in the balance of power. "The Right Approach". The reduction of taxation, the shift of emphasis from the distribution to the creation of wealth, the defence of quality and diversity in education (Sir Ian's right-wing singles out the universal provision of the comprehensive school as one of the lethal consequences of dogma in policy), the acceptance of a need for incomes policy albeit in a form that would be part of the present Tory consensus.

In these the author adds a number of measures of his own including a reformed House of Lords, radical devolution for Scotland and electoral reform.

Sir Ian writes wisely and well. He is witty and sometimes a bit of polemic and knows about—at different times Mr Wilson, Mr Foot, the "Bolsheviks" and the "moderates" in the Labour party who have been covering their eyes since they lost their leader to Brussels and under his lash—"the knights of shining armour of British politics. Their armour is indeed highly polished; unfortunately the last thing they ever do is to fight."

This book constitutes an important contribution to the Tory party's chances of winning the next election—ideas after all, even in England, still count for something. This is not to import the same old Toryism into the nation's retrograde to Great Britain or advances to Great Britain, an ever more impoverished western version of an eastern people's democracy. Yet it is more than that, and it is a book that has a place in the literature of Conservative politics.

Norman St John-Stevas
Published today by Hutchinson, £5.95.

The vicar, the Barony and the two excitable sisters

An Australian vicar has arrived in England to claim the dormant Barony of Eure. At first or even second glance that may not seem an introductory sentence to grab the reader's attention by the scruff of the neck and refuse to let it go before the bottom of the page. It suggests snobbery and genealogy-mania, the most boring of English vices to snobs and personally concerned with the genealogy. However, the claim has historic, constitutional, eccentric and sexist features.

The last Lord Eure died in 1707. The Rev James Haldane-Stevenson, vicar of North Balwyn (a parish in Melbourne) claims that in 1652 the Government made a mistake in the

descent of the title. He is taking the highly unusual step of petitioning the Queen under the Bill of Rights, claiming redress of tort by the Government of 1652. There is an agreeable historical irony in the petitioning factor that the Government at that date consisted of the great Anti-King himself, Oliver Cromwell.

The claim turns upon the question whether the Barony of Eure was created "in fee" (devolving on heirs-general of either sex) or "by patent" (to male heirs only). Henry VIII granted the Baronies of Eure and Wharton in a hurry on the same day in September 1544, on the eve of his invasion of France. Because of the haste it was not clear whether

he had created them in fee or by patent under a ruling by the House of Lords in 1916.

In 1652 Lord Eure died. His closest relations were a pair of sisters who were his cousins. The King, the true *fons honoris*, was on his travels in exile. The Protector, who was notoriously lax about honorific matters, even allowing peers to sit in the House of Commons, passed over the females and allowed a more distant male cousin to succeed as Lord Eure. Apart from male chauvinism, there was good prudential reason for disinheriting the sisters. They were so insanely jealous of each other that, when they were left a house jointly, they could not agree to share

it, and accordingly pulled it down and divided it stone by stone. When Charles II was restored, he granted the sisters the dignity of peers' daughters.

In the House of Lords judged that the identical contemporary Barony of Wharton was in fee, devolving on women as well as men. What is sauce for the Wharton is sauce for the Eure. The title should have gone to the excitable sisters, whose nearest living descendant is the Rev. James Haldane-Stevenson. He argues that the Act of 1927, which sets a limit of 100 years after which it becomes impossible to call a title out of existence, should not be applied in this case, because the delay has been caused

not by negligence of the family but by error of the Government.

It does not matter greatly. There is no estate left. The family seat, Malton Hall in what used to be called County Durham, was demolished three centuries ago. Mr Haldane-Stevenson has announced that he will apply for the Liberal Whip, if he becomes translated into Lord Eure; and he has been welcomed as a potential recruit by Lord Wigod, the Liberal Deputy Whip in the House of Lords. The unusual process will, in any case, unite an engaging little historical knot of no importance.

Philip Howard

Why the bonds of Labour are holding firm

It is the Liberals who have most cause to be disappointed by the success of the Labour conference. Naturally the Conservatives would have preferred another bloodbath at Brighton last week along the lines of that at Blackpool a year ago. But the Conservative appeal does not depend upon Labour disunity: when that occurs it is a bonus to the Tories, not a necessity. They must hope to win office by convincing the electorate that their policies are more relevant and their vigour greater.

But it is quite different for the Liberals. The strategy of the Lib-Lab pact is for them essentially an exercise in bluff about that realignment of the left for which they have prayed for so long. And realignment requires the Labour Party to split at some time.

To speculate about that has been more than fantasising for no other reason than that a number of Labour politicians—not simply those on the far right like Mr Prentice who have moved out of the party—have themselves doubted over the past couple of years whether Labour could hold together indefinitely.

More than any other successful British political party, Labour has always contained elements so disparate as to be apparently incompatible. It is not just that they have disagreed over specific policies. It is not even that their basic attitudes have been very different. It is that these differences have been recognized within the party to be so deep that they have inflamed most uncomradely passions. To speak of hatred between a good many on the left and right of the party has been no exaggeration during these past two years.

The basic attitudes of quite a number of Labour right-wingers have seemed to be closer to the Liberals and to some Conservative left-wingers than to those on the left-wings of their own party. The de facto coalition that appeared during the EEC referendum campaign seemed to reflect a similarity of views that extended beyond that single issue. Yet the key question has always been whether this kind of intellectual affinity would ever be sufficient to draw any significant numbers away from the Labour movement.

That question will cannot be answered with certainty. The

scene might look very different if Labour lost the next election and if left-wing constituency parties are enabled to bring severe pressure to bear on MPs. But the evidence of Brighton is a major rebuff to the cause of realignment.

It is always difficult for those of us outside the Labour movement to appreciate to the full the bonds that hold it together. The very word "movement" is itself revealing. It suggests something that goes beyond attachment to a political party, a sense of loyalty to a purpose. Sometimes that purpose may seem distinctly tawdry: self interest in the clothes of social righteousness. But there are undoubtedly emotional ties, a feeling of belonging that defies many disagreements, that have kept the party a good number who have been out of sympathy with their colleagues on matters of policy. There are obvious reasons of political calculation as well.

At Brighton these policy disagreements were less in evidence, or rather it would be more accurate to say that the differences that remain generated nothing like the old animosity. The explanations for this new decorum are familiar by

now: an awareness of an election in the offing, a sudden confidence that Labour can win it, a determination—encouraged in some instances by pressure from supporters at home—not to repeat the shambles of Blackpool, a growing realization that unemployment cannot be cut appreciably by the stroke of a government pen, and the relief at the appearance of brighter economic news in other respects, and a willingness on the part of the left to bide their time until after the election.

None of these reasons for the new harmony suggests that it necessarily is very deep. Some of the old divisive issues—like membership of the EEC—may no longer seem worth the quarrel. But there is still a basic split, which becomes apparent on different questions from time to time, between the broad terms those who accept the mixed economy, but wish to operate it more efficiently and humanely, and those who seek to change it altogether. I do not believe for a moment that this kind of wedge for pulling the party apart has been blown away by the Brighton breeze, but that makes the calm of the conference all the more interesting.

It is not part of the Labour tradition to exercise restraint

for the sake of securing office. That is partly because there are sections of the party who have been psychologically happier in opposition than in government, partly because it has sometimes seemed more important to win the battles within the party than to win an election and partly because self-discipline is simply not one of the qualities one associates with a Labour conference.

It is now three years since the last election: the conference of 1973 was held rather more than three years after the previous election, so the next one must have seemed as close then as it does now—even though nobody can have expected it to come as soon as the following February—but the conference was nearly as bad as Blackpool 1976.

The very different atmosphere at Brighton last week suggests that the party is acquiring a taste for office. It also indicates that both wings, despite their conflicting policies, still regard a Labour government as the best vehicle for pursuing those policies into practice.

The compromises came from both left and right. The left have stifled their protests at the course pursued by a Cabinet dominated by the right-wing.

Hardly a murmur was heard against the Lib-Lab pact—which must have been disturbing for the Liberals. Right-wing figures, for their part, were to be heard denying importance to battles between left and right.

Such protestations of cosy togetherness were claptrap, but it is always instructive when thoughtful politicians feel obliged to utter claptrap. On this occasion it was an indication that they still see their future within the party, not in any realignment of parties. Mr Prentice's decision to go right across to the Tories would seem paradoxically to confirm that judgement. He would surely have preferred to be part of a new left-centre grouping had he been allowed to be practical politics. So the manner of his defection is in its way further evidence that in general the bonds of the Labour movement are holding.

It is not follow that the party is now safely on the way to victory: to write off the Tories because Labour morale is rising would be far too facile. But it does mean that those whose faith is pinned on changing the pattern on the left of British politics have received a setback to their hopes.

Geoffrey Smith

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LEAPMAN IN AMERICA

Every day at noon, excepting weekends, a few dozen reporters repair to a broad but shallow room at the first floor of the United Nations headquarters in New York. There Bill Powell, the United Nations' chief spokesman, or one of his assistants, reads the day's engagements for the Secretary-General and the President of the General Assembly.

The Secretary-General might, for instance, have been seeing the Foreign Minister of the Central African Empire, the head of the United Nations Water Commission, the five Nordic ambassadors. He might be dining with the President of Djibouti, and gratefully accepting on behalf of the United Nations some commemorative slab presented by the Government and people of Iraq. All will be solemnly listed and even, in a few cases, written down by the reporters.

Then the spokesman will answer questions on topics of the moment. What does the Secretary-General think of the latest Middle East peace initiative? He likes it. When will the Security Council meet on Cyprus? Consultations are under way.

A reporter might complain about the inadequacy of one reaction or another, the paucity of information on this or that topic. An attempt might be made to needle the spokesman, to make a debating point.

After about 20 minutes they file out. The day's briefing is over. Except on rare occasions the information divulged at it

will appear in hardly any newspapers. Returning to the United Nations in the absence of five years, what struck me through one of these briefings, was how little the dramatic personae had changed. While it is customary in most newspapers for reporters to be re-assigned from one specialist assignment to another every few years, the rule does not seem to apply in the case of United Nations correspondents.

A good many have been there for more than 20 years. A few date from the very beginning of the organization at Lake Success just after the War, and some from the earlier San Francisco meetings at which it was established. A surprising number are women of an uncertain age.

They have formed a little self-contained community, complete with its own procedures, its own social life, its own internal diplomacy, its own (often intense) personal rivalries, which sometimes get a little out of hand.

Bill Powell, head of the United Nations press service, explained to me how such disputes—incongruous in a body devoted to world peace—occur. "Some of them are professional 'gadflies', he said. "And one of them might be making a long statement instead of asking me a question and some of his colleagues will tell him to shut up. I have to say: 'Gentlemen, please, I—but they're not easily discouraged.'"

William Oatis of the Asso-

ciated Press, who has been covering the United Nations since 1954, was more blunt. "Some of them are rather stupid," he declared, "and ask me why I came here after it started."

Michael Littlejohns of Reuters, who has only a year less seniority than Oatis, puts it this way: "We are rather huddled together like rats in a cage. As rats become hostile to one another, so do correspondents. Not everyone here is as balanced as might be desirable."

I asked both of them why people stay at the United Nations so long, and both replied that it took a while to develop the knowledge and the contacts to do the job properly. "A lot of people come here who don't understand the organization and its procedures and write an awful lot of garbage," Littlejohns said.

Newspapers have to keep a close eye on everything that goes on at the United Nations, because they serve numerous different countries, each one concerned chiefly with discussion of its own affairs. For reporters from individual newspapers, though, the minutes of day-to-day United Nations business is extraneous. As I go into the press room and see its racks filled with crisp new press releases, by the feeling that there is more information there than anyone can possibly need.

This is why not many newspapers nowadays keep correspondents at the United Nations. In the past few years

all the important American papers—with the exception of the New York Times—have closed their bureaux there. Foreign newspapers—including ours—have the United Nations covered part-time only, by their New York or Washington correspondents.

"The novelty has worn off gradually through the years," Oatis explained. "There has been a gradual loss of interest in the United Nations among Americans as the influence of the United States has dwindled. The United States does not use the United Nations in its foreign policy any more."

While the number of newspaper correspondents has dwindled, there has been no decrease in the number of reporters at the United Nations who write newsletters, primarily for the internal consumption of United Nations delegates. These are the real old stagers, who hardly ever miss a briefing, and who tend, at the end of the most intricate questions.

"My clients," one of the newsletter writers told me, "want to know what's really going on in the UN corridors. They don't get the real stories from the newspapers. So that's what I give them."

Said another correspondent, "I reach the people." It is certainly true that the UN has its own internal diplomatic intrigues which mean little to the world outside. During the Security Council debate last month on Rhodesia, there was a small sensation

when some delegates suspected that Dr David Owen, our dynamic young Foreign Secretary, was dynamically trying to rush them into passing his resolution. Indeed he was incensed enough to tell them as much, saying he was anxious to fulfil a speaking commitment in Chicago.

The older heads tut-tutted and said that there was no way to behave. More to punish him than anything else, the Council decided to adjourn until the next day when Owen had to stop on his way back from the windy city, delaying his return to London to prepare for the Labour Party conference. The series of events excited students of UN protocol, but caused not a ripple elsewhere.

Aside from those who write newsletters, there are some accredited correspondents who appear to write very little for anything. Littlejohns confessed that it is hard to keep a former correspondent who ceases to be one, and many enjoy going through the motions of reporting for old times' sake. Others work as unofficial agents for individual delegations.

That is why, if I were to go away for another five years and come back, I would find the same faces at the briefing. There would still be the same questions about world government and the Middle East peace initiative. As for the Security Council meetings on Cyprus, consultations would still be under way.

Frank Vogl

The eight companies, included in a survey of 30 leading groups over a three-year period ending October 1976, all showed a return on assets of more than 10 per cent. Three are Japanese and four are involved in the

soon to the American market, America's leading manufacturer in Ohio at the time.

Reynolds, of the problem was of the Euro-75 per cent

is more promising news about the progress being made by the newly-formed Japanese Sales Company, Nippon. Largely because of the influence exerted by Toyota, which holds the controlling interest and has close ties with Toyota, Leyland received 127 applications for dealerships, some from Japan.

their best to repair the situation, but much will depend upon the case presented by the component mission organized by the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders, which arrives here in three weeks.

Dr Tomio Kubo, president of Mitsubishi, Japan's third-largest motor producer, and one of the leading figures in the present

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Nearly 1,000 others will be visiting 30 pre-Christmas and their own accounts.

Export orders from the Baghdad Fair this week coming weeks British businessmen

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Although unemployment is high, growing shortages of skilled labour are already beginning to appear. Investment in housing and building new

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MANAGEMENT

Edited by Rodney Cowton

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why product design must have a voice in the boardroom

Too many British companies are being outpaced by their foreign rivals in product design. International competition in many industrial fields is steadily shifting from price to design comparisons.

In a growing number of sectors, production of volume products has ceased or is diminishing because United Kingdom companies have been out-designed by foreign competitors. Department of Industry figures constantly disclose a growing sophistication of import design as compared with home production.

As far as international figures can be trusted, they show that the resources spent by foreign companies on product development often exceed by large margins those spent by equivalent British companies.

Some might argue that our relative failure in product development is due to a sheer lack of the necessary number of creative minds, but this seems very doubtful.

Rather, I would argue that the men and women who could help to design our industry into a more successful future often possess neither the status nor the resources to make their potential contribution.

Therefore, I wish to propound the idea that one means of bettering the product design performance of British industrial companies is to regard relative failure in this area as an organizational problem.

The operational work of industry is to design, produce and market goods, but in many companies design has not emerged as one of the three prime functions, whereas manufacturing and marketing have.

There is often uncertainty as to who actually leads the design function; that person may not be directly answerable to the chief executive. Many companies have difficulty in stating what percentage of their revenue is allocated to product design, and the design function is usually referred to as "research and development", which can be unfortunate.

"R and D" is regarded not only by those engaged in it, but also by many management, as a unique type of employment quite different from manufacturing and marketing. This leads to the assumption that, while it is possible to allocate specific tasks within time targets to manufacturing and marketing, such an approach is not possible with "R and D".



Lord Brown.

International competition in many industrial fields is steadily shifting from price to design comparisons. Spending by foreign firms on product development often greatly exceeds that spent by UK companies

If this were so it would mean that there was no real possibility of product development matching the overall future strategy of the company. But much creative work is done in dealing with industrial relations problems, in thinking out marketing strategies and devising new manufacturing technologies, and all in a coordinated manner in accordance with set parameters and time targets.

Why should this work be deemed less creative than that of designing products?

There is growing evidence that the Japanese have fully grasped this point and that their product teams are working to pre-set tasks and time targets often stretching many years into the future, but coordinated with changes in manufacturing capacity and research into future markets.

There are in operation in the United Kingdom, and have been in the past, government schemes under which companies could obtain financial

assistance for product development, as well as for investment in plant and machinery, but in only a minority of cases have applications related to product development been made.

The latest government scheme is specifically aimed at stimulating investment by manufacturing industry in the development of products and processes. Some £20m is available initially to provide grants of 25 per cent on qualifying costs or 50 per cent on grants if the company applying is prepared to pay a levy on the turnover of successful results. The scheme is on a selective basis and its main thrust is towards the mechanical and electrical industries.

It is clear that the Government is taking product development very seriously, and it is difficult to see how a selective basis can be of help. But more needs to be done, because the development of a wider and better range of products is not only a cash problem or a technological problem.

blem. The need is to convince chief executives that it is also an organizational problem.

In many companies, failure to compete in terms of product design is due to failure to place the head of the product team in the right position, failure to provide the right resources and failure to set the right terms of reference.

Wherever possible in industrial group companies, and essentially in simple companies, the chief executive should have immediate responsibility to him not only those in charge of manufacturing and marketing but also a person of the same rank as those in charge of these functions who is responsible for an explicitly organized department accountable for developing the company's products in accordance with a coordinated plan.

The chief executive should make it mandatory for those in charge of these three functions to consult regularly.

In some engineering companies one person is put in charge of both design and manufacture, but there is then a strong tendency for too high a proportion of effort to be devoted to the solution of manufacturing problems because these are short-term and often urgent. It is recommended that the two functions be kept quite separate.

The major demonstration of the validity of the foregoing organizational approach is the English Electric Company. Soon after Arnold Weinstock (now Sir Arnold) assumed command of English Electric and AEL, as well as General Electric, a policy of giving chief executives of subsidiary companies control over design, manufacture and marketing was adopted.

The results speak for themselves. In 1947 a similar policy was adopted by Glacier Metal. The type of thinking outlined here is unfortunately not widespread in industry. It might greatly help industry if the Institutions of Mechanical, Electrical and Civil Engineering considered this organizational aspect of product design and caused it to be discussed among their members in a more widespread manner than has occurred in the past.

Wilfred Brown

Lord Brown was a Minister of State at the Board of Trade, 1965-70; and chairman of the Glacier Metal Company, 1939-65.

Training for teamwork at ICI Mond

One of the discoveries made by many companies in the past 10 years of rapidly evolving industrial relations climate is that change begets change.

It is sometimes a lesson which is painfully learnt, but in intelligently managed businesses the fact is perceived before experience drives it home. So it seems to have been, for example, at ICI.

In the late 1960s a major industrial relations reform was put into effect with the implementation of the weekly staff agreement under which the conditions of employment of hourly paid workers were transformed to more closely resemble those of white collar workers.

It would probably be true to say that the managers at ICI who negotiated the weekly staff agreement with the trade unions were chiefly concerned to change the attitudes of the hourly paid workers, but many quickly realized that changes in employee attitudes would require changes in managerial methods.

It was at about this time, 1968, that the first hints of a new approach to management were developed between the Mond Division of ICI and the methods of training and styles of managerial behaviour associated with the late Ralph Coverdale.

These focus on systematic approaches to problem solving and to working in groups. They are based not on didactic lecturing, but on methods of training which concentrate on analysing and making management conscious of their methods of working, thus leading to a modification of these methods.

One of the essential elements in the acquisition of a willingness to listen to and comprehend the other man's point of view.

The connection between the use of Coverdale training as it has developed in the Mond Division and the weekly staff agreement is difficult to pin down precisely.

Some Mond Division managers will tell you that there was almost a direct cause and effect—that the weekly staff agreement demanded a change in managerial methods.

Other circumstances force closures upon the Post Office, for instance, the clearing of town residential areas and their replacement by estates with central shopping areas—often planned by the same councils that the Post Office has to service.

Increasing and more violent crime has added to the recruitment problem. Other circumstances force closures upon the Post Office, for instance, the clearing of town residential areas and their replacement by estates with central shopping areas—often planned by the same councils that the Post Office has to service.

Post Office counter work has declined, either as a result of falling public demand (money orders, postal orders, and registered work) or because of the reorganization of distribution systems (licences and national insurance stamps). The threat of the Government removing agency work from the Post Office, so lighted by the Lyons (The Times, September 21) is very real.

In 1977 only just over £100m worth of national insurance stamps were sold over Post Office counters; 10 years ago, when such work constituted approximately one third of all counter transactions, the figure was well over £1,000m.

The Post Office has diversified its counter activities but alternative trade of this order is not available.

In each case of closure the savings are quite small, as Mr Lyons pointed out, but in a nationalized industry where over £1,000m every saving will seem slight, since the possibility of cutting out an odd £100m of expenditure by a single economy does not exist. Thus a series of small savings have to be made which only have an effect in aggregate.

Moreover, the Post Office has a statutory duty laid down in Section 9 of the 1969 Post Office Act, to operate with regard to efficiency and economy in meeting its service obligations. The Post Office is, therefore, obliged to review its provision of offices, making adjustments as circumstances change.

The profits and advertising policy of telecommunications are irrelevant to the sub-post office issue. Those profits are required for investment in new equipment, and it is worth

Why EEC demands over truck and bus drivers hours are impracticable

From Miss Stella Green

Sir, As a regular bus user, I read with considerable concern your Transport Correspondent's report on bus and lorry drivers' hours (September 29). As a consumer of goods, all at some stage transported by road, I am doubly affected.

Why, in order to be "good Europeans" must we suffer bungling bureaucracy? I am in favour of the EEC, but one's faith is shaken by the way in which its administrators single out the wrong targets for their legislative efforts; anything, it seems, to justify their existence. Yet they were unable to carry through such a simple and sensible proposal as that to introduce "summer time" on the same day in all member states using this system.

Mr Bailey clearly shows the futility which has led to the EEC hours regulations. It is we, the consumers, the general public who will have to pay for this farce—unless there is an unprecedented harmonization of down-to-earth common-sense in Brussels!

Yours etc,
STELLA GREEN,
5 Lancaster Court,
Lancaster Avenue,
London SE27.
October 2.

From the Director-General of the Road Haulage Association
Sir, Michael Bailey's article on drivers' hours (September 29) is timely and effectively draws attention to the serious consequences for the road transport industry of the continuing decision about the rules which will apply in the United Kingdom after January 1, 1978. It would be unfortunate, however, if the article encouraged opposition to membership of the EEC or unfair criticism of "Brussels bureaucracy".

It is not the bureaucrats but the Council of Transport Ministers who have failed to agree on the rules governing drivers' hours and created fresh problems for road transport. It would certainly be quite impracticable for operators to adjust running schedules and other working arrangements by the beginning of 1978, or even, in many cases, by January, 1979, if the reduction in driving hours is to be from ten to eight.

Such adjustments and related changes would have to be discussed and agreed with the trade unions and this process would not necessarily be easily or quickly completed. Moreover, the consequent increase in the cost of transport services to 1979, and that to 1980, therefore in the prices of all goods, would be considerable.

Changes of this nature cannot be accepted immediately by the United Kingdom without serious effects on the economy, but the haulage industry is prepared to move towards acceptable standards by stages. My association supports membership of the EEC and has cooperated, and continues to cooperate, with the

Department of Transport and the EEC Commission's services in Brussels in attempting to formulate a common transport policy.

We recognize that on the question of drivers' hours there are differences between the governments of member states, but an acceptance of the "package" put forward by the Secretary of State for Transport in June, which provided for the phased introduction of amended regulations in the United Kingdom, seems the best means of resolving the differences. This "package" was not acceptable to the French, who feel that Britain has had long enough to adjust to the EEC rules.

Whatever justification there may be for this view, for the United Kingdom, the situation described by Michael Bailey will not improve matters. The French authorities may be assured that they have made their point, that the road transport industry here genuinely cannot afford to comply with the existing regulations by January 1979, and that it is prepared to move by stages towards the implementation of a practicable set of rules acceptable to all.

Yours faithfully,
K. NEWMAN,
Director-General,
Road Haulage Association,
Roadway House,
22 Upper Woburn Place,
London WC1H 0BS.
October 3.

Criticism of sub-post office closures

From the Director, Mail Users' Association, Ltd.

Sir, The Post Office has received much criticism for closing scale payment sub-offices. This is often mistaken and fails to give the corporation credit for maintaining the best network of its type anywhere in the country.

The Carter report acknowledged this by pointing out that the United States, although 17 times greater in area than the United Kingdom, has only 30 per cent more post offices.

The reduction in the number of sub-post offices, and its impact tends to be exaggerated, while the reasons for closures are often ignored. The system has been reduced by only 5 per cent in the past 10 years, and in cases of individual hardship special provision can be made for the distribution of pensions and allowances.

However, the main point is that the Post Office has faced considerable difficulties in maintaining the sub-post office network. The decline of the small shop has meant that it is often difficult to fill vacancies. Increasing and more violent crime has added to the recruitment problem.

Other circumstances force closures upon the Post Office, for instance, the clearing of town residential areas and their replacement by estates with central shopping areas—often planned by the same councils that the Post Office has to service.

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Post Office counter work has declined, either as a result of falling public demand (money orders, postal orders, and registered work) or because of the reorganization of distribution systems (licences and national insurance stamps). The threat of the Government removing agency work from the Post Office, so lighted by the Lyons (The Times, September 21) is very real.

In 1977 only just over £100m worth of national insurance stamps were sold over Post Office counters; 10 years ago, when such work constituted approximately one third of all counter transactions, the figure was well over £1,000m.

The Post Office has diversified its counter activities but alternative trade of this order is not available.

In each case of closure the savings are quite small, as Mr Lyons pointed out, but in a nationalized industry where over £1,000m every saving will seem slight, since the possibility of cutting out an odd £100m of expenditure by a single economy does not exist. Thus a series of small savings have to be made which only have an effect in aggregate.

Moreover, the Post Office has a statutory duty laid down in Section 9 of the 1969 Post Office Act, to operate with regard to efficiency and economy in meeting its service obligations. The Post Office is, therefore, obliged to review its provision of offices, making adjustments as circumstances change.

The profits and advertising policy of telecommunications are irrelevant to the sub-post office issue. Those profits are required for investment in new equipment, and it is worth

remembering that a short while ago the corporation was criticized for not investing enough in a core of modernizing its history.

The advertising campaign makes good commercial sense since by increasing business it stimulates the economy, and the telecommunications business, and thereby enable charges to be held down for longer periods, and investment to be made in more modern equipment.

The subsidizing of totally unprofitable operations on which profits made on telephones or any section of post office business would erode financial discipline and rational resource allocation, and lower staff morale. It is refreshing to see the simple expedient of raising rates for postal and telephone services using up-to-date methods, rather than being criticized for the corporation should have the same idea encouraged.

All is not lost to Mr Lyons' target of 1979, or even the 1976 target of other local authority wishing to keep open redundant post offices. If they offer to pay the Post Office the amount of the savings it would have made by closing the office, then the officials could hardly refuse to continue to keep the office in question open. The money could be quite easily raised by the protesting councilmen voting for an increase in the rates. I am disappointed that the simple expedient has not been widely adopted by councils before.

Yours faithfully,
MICHAEL E. CORBY,
21 Sackville Street,
Piccadilly,
London, W1X 1DB.
September 22.

Championing the cause of the disgruntled car buyer

From Mr P. N. O'Donoghue

Sir, In welcoming the appointment by the motor trade of an official to assist disgruntled car buyers, Mr Dix (September 29) advertises similar services which are offered by his own organisation, the Motor Agents Association. A report in the current issue of What Car of an attempt to use these services concludes that the MAA delayed rather than facilitated

the settlement of a complaint against a garage. It goes on to say that it is worth remembering that the MAA is managed by garage trade members and is essentially in existence to protect their interests.

Are the MAA the right people to do the job? Surely it should be an independent body without any interests or over-connections with the motor trade and industry? Surely indeed.

Greater Barcelona, with a population of over a million, is a city with Madrid for the official title of Spain's most important city. But as far as the Catalonians are concerned there is no contest.

Barcelona is Spain's largest industrial centre, boasts a cultural life unequalled in any other part of Spain and, unlike Madrid, it has prospered despite centralized government rather than because of it.

A major port and banking centre, Barcelona can hardly be considered without taking into account the huge suburbs and nearby cities jammed with industry, all linked to it by finance, transport and commerce. The Barcelona area boasts the country's largest car factory, major textile mills and countless other industries producing goods ranging from fertilizer to perfume and from books to boots.

Although the Barcelona natives speak Catalan at home, there are more books printed there in Castilian Spanish than in any other place in the world except Buenos Aires.

About a quarter of Spain's industrial production comes from Catalonia and 85 per cent of that comes from the province of Barcelona. The people of Catalonia have a reputation as hard businessmen and are as thrifty as the Scots. Figures for personal savings seem to support that impression: one fifth of the money put into private savings accounts in Spain is deposited in Catalonia.

Despite its impressive industrial strength, however, Barcelona is not without problems. The current business recession has seriously affected many industries in the region and resulted in rising unemployment.

One wonders how effective the new Customer Relations Adviser of the Society of Motor Manufacturers and Traders will prove in championing the cause of discontented customers against the defence offered by his own employers.

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Hertfordshire EN5 1DQ.

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workers, mostly from the poorer provinces of southern Spain, who have been attracted to the area. Now that home rule is a reality in Catalonia the question of social, cultural and economic assimilation of the immigrant population will be even more sharply felt.

The commercial and manufacturing supremacy of Barcelona, in any case, has not quite managed to put the province at the top of the list of Spain's most fortunate people. A survey carried out last year by a Spanish government agency to determine the index of social welfare of the various provinces (according to the system devised by economists Bergson, Samuelson and Arrow) put Barcelona in fifth place, trailing behind Madrid and three of the Basque provinces.

Inflation has hit Barcelona harder than most other Spanish cities. According to a statistical study published in *Comentarios Sociológicos* by the Spanish Federation of Savings Banks, food costs in Barcelona were higher in 1976 and in the first two months of 1977 (the latest period included) than in any other major Spanish city.

Because industrialization began in Barcelona long before it took hold in most of the rest of Spain, much of the equipment and installations of its industries are obsolete. To correct this defect, which is particularly noticeable in the textile industry, the government has offered incentives to manufac-

urers to destroy outmoded machinery and close unprofitable factories.

Of the 103 textile companies whose applications for such subsidies were approved last year, 83 were in the province of Barcelona, and they represented more than 80 per cent of the total number of companies applying for aid under the programme.

As a highly industrialized area, Barcelona has its share of labour problems. It lost 2,700,000 man hours during the first quarter of this year through strikes. That was more than the total man hours in the super-labour disputes in Madrid and Bilbao combined during the same period.

Nevertheless Barcelona is not far from being the most strike-bound province. That was Valencia, where a construction workers' strike caused a loss of 20 million man hours during the same quarter, representing more than half of the total time lost throughout the country.

Labour is far from tame in Barcelona and political manoeuvres can now be expected to influence events in industry even more than in the past.

Harry De

the German Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, who is visiting the United Kingdom, has been asked to make a statement on the German position in the Falkland Islands.

Mr Schmidt is expected to say that Germany is not involved in the Falkland Islands dispute, but that it is a body which is a body.

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S. Pearson & Son

Unaudited results of the Group for the half-year to 30th June 1977

Dividends

The directors have declared an interim dividend on the ordinary share capital of 2.0p per share, the same as last year, payable on 25th November 1977 to shareholders on the register of members on 28th October 1977. The final dividend per share for 1976 required to bring the total for that year up to the maximum permitted under current legislation (6-168285p) is 0-063925p and this will be paid with the interim.

Results	1977 £000	1976 £000
Turnover, excluding banking and investment income	157,683	133,648
Profit of the group before taxation	19,018	14,566
Deduct proportion attributable to minority interests	4,826	3,347
Profit before taxation attributable to S. Pearson & Son, Ltd.	14,192	11,219
Total taxation (overseas taxes £1,950,000 1976 £1,693,000) including deferred taxation	10,175	7,859
Deduct proportion attributable to minority interests	2,551	1,918
	7,624	5,941
Net profit attributable to S. Pearson & Son, Ltd. before extraordinary items	6,568	5,278
Extraordinary items, less minority interests and taxation	(56)	179
Net surplus including extraordinary items	6,512	5,457
Dividends:		
Preference	9	9
Ordinary: interim for 1977	1,369	1,363
final for 1976	43	—
	1,421	1,372
	5,091	4,085
Earnings per ordinary share, before extraordinary items	9-59p	7-73p

Exchange differences arising on the reconversion to sterling of net assets overseas are excluded from the above figures.

مكتبة

MANAGEMENT

Edited by Rodney Cowton

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Why product design must have a voice in the boardroom

Too many British companies are being outpaced by their foreign rivals in product design. In many industrial fields, the quality of design is steadily slipping from price to design comparisons.

In a growing number of sectors, production of volume products has ceased or is diminishing and many industrial fields are steadily shifting from price to design comparisons.

As far as international figures can be trusted, they show that the resources spent by foreign companies on product development often exceed by large margins those spent by equivalent British companies.

Some might argue that our relative failure in product development is due to a sheer lack of the necessary number of creative minds, but this seems very doubtful.

Rather, I would argue that the men and women who could help to design our industry into a more successful future often possess neither the status nor the resources to make their potential contribution.

Therefore, I wish to propound the idea that one means of bettering the product design performance of British industrial companies is to regard relative failure in this area as an organizational problem.

The operational work of industry is to design, produce and market goods, but in many companies design has not emerged as one of the three prime functions, whereas manufacturing and marketing have.

There is often uncertainty as to who actually leads the design function; that person may not be directly answerable to the chief executive. Many companies have difficulty in stating what percentage of their revenue is allocated to product design, and the design function is usually referred to as "research and development", which can be unfortunate.

"R and D" is regarded not only by those engaged in it, but also by many management, as a unique type of employment quite different from manufacturing and marketing. This leads to the assumption that while it is possible to allocate specific tasks within time targets to manufacturing and marketing, such an approach is not possible with "R and D".



Lord Brown.

International competition in many industrial fields is steadily shifting from price to design comparisons. Spending by foreign firms on product development often greatly exceeds that spent by UK companies

If this were so it would mean that there was no real possibility of product development matching the overall future strategy of the company. But much creative work is done in dealing with industrial relations problems, in thinking out marketing strategies and devising new manufacturing technologies, and all in a coordinated manner in accordance with set parameters and time targets.

Why should this work be deemed less creative than that of designing products? There is growing evidence that the Japanese have fully grasped this point and that their product teams are working to pre-set tasks and time targets often stretching many years into the future, but coordinated with changes in manufacturing capacity and research in future markets.

There are in operation in the United Kingdom, and have been in the past, government schemes under which companies could obtain financial

assistance for product development, as well as for investment in plant and machinery, but in only a minority of cases have applications related to product development.

The latest government scheme is specifically aimed at stimulating investment by manufacturing industry in the development of products and processes. Some £20m is available initially to provide grants of 25 per cent on qualifying costs or 50 per cent on the turnover of successful results. The scheme is on a selective basis and its main thrust is towards the mechanical and electrical industries.

It is clear that the Government is taking product development very seriously, and it is difficult to see how a government can do more to help. But more needs to be done, because the development of a wider and better range of products is not only a cash problem or a technological pro-

blem. The need is to convince chief executives that it is also an organizational problem.

In many companies, failure to compete in terms of product design is due to failure to place the head of the product team in the right position, failure to provide the right resources and failure to set the right terms of reference.

Wherever possible in industrial group companies, and essentially in simple companies, the chief executive should be responsible to him not only those in charge of manufacturing and marketing but also a person of the same rank as those in charge of these functions who is responsible for an explicitly organized department accountable for developing the company's products in accordance with a coordinated plan.

The chief executive should make it mandatory for those in charge of these three functions to consult regularly.

In some engineering companies one person is put in charge of both design and manufacture, but there is then a strong tendency for too high a proportion of effort to be devoted to the solution of manufacturing problems because these are short-term and often urgent. It is recommended that the two functions be kept quite separate.

The major demonstration of the validity of the foregoing organizational approach is the English Electric Company. Some years ago, Arnold Weir (now Sir Arnold) assumed command of English Electric and AEL, as well as General Electric, a policy of giving chief executives of subsidiary companies control over design, manufacture and marketing was adopted.

The results speak for themselves. In 1947 a similar policy was adopted by Glacier Metal.

The type of thinking outlined here is unfortunately not widespread in industry. It might greatly help industry if the Institutions of Mechanical, Electrical and Civil Engineering considered this organizational aspect of product design and caused it to be discussed among their members in a more widespread manner than has occurred in the past.

Wilfred Brown

Lord Brown was a Minister of State at the Board of Trade, 1965-70; and chairman of the Glacier Metal Company, 1939-65.

Training for teamwork at ICI Mond

One of the discoveries made by many companies in the past 10 years of rapidly evolving industry is that teamwork is a change begets change.

It is sometimes a lesson which is painfully learnt, but in intelligently managed businesses the fact is not accepted before experience drives it home. So it seems to have been, for example, at ICI.

In the late 1960s a major industrial relations reform was put into effect with the implementation of the weekly staff agreement under which the conditions of employment of hourly paid workers were transformed to more closely resemble those of white collar workers.

It would probably be true to say that the managers at ICI who negotiated the weekly staff agreement with the trade unions were chiefly concerned to change the attitudes of the then hourly paid workers, but many realized that changes in employee attitudes would require changes in managerial methods.

It was at about this time, 1968, that the Mond Division of ICI and the methods of training and styles of managerial behaviour associated with the late Ralph Coverdale were developed.

Approaches to problem solving and to working in groups. They are based not on didactic lecturing, but on methods of training which concentrate on analysis and making managers conscious of their methods of working, thus leading to a modification of these methods.

One of the essential elements in the acquisition of a willingness to listen to and understand the other man's point of view.

The connection between the use of Coverdale training as it has developed in the Mond Division and the weekly staff agreement is difficult to pin down precisely.

Some Mond Division managers will tell you that there was almost a direct cause and effect—that the weekly staff agreement demanded a change in managerial methods and that Coverdale was one of the routes by which this was sought.

Others will suggest that the implementation of the weekly staff agreement absorbed people's energies that were needed for other things. It was only after 1971-72, when that process had been completed, that managers began looking for new things to do and that one of those things was to extend Coverdale to new areas.

One such area, for example, was that of research and development at Runcorn, where the Mond Division's headquarters are. The R & D people started using Coverdale late in 1974, and now about half of the 750 people in the department have had at least limited exposure to these methods.

Dr W. B. Dobie, the R & D general manager, hopes that in one or two years as many as 85 or 90 per cent will have been through Coverdale training.

Coverdale training in the R & D department is voluntary, but just a few miles away across the River Mersey, at the Widnes plant, which the works manager, Mr R. D. Croft, describes as "totally committed" to the methods, a point has been reached where it is felt necessary for all managers to use them.

At one stage about two thirds of the shop stewards at Widnes also went on Coverdale courses. There is some caution shown about how deep the impact of this was on industrial relations at Widnes, but it seems at least agreed by both sides that the tone has changed. "Instead of the dogfights we used to have, we now at least listen".

One of the problems of behavioural training generally, and of Coverdale training in particular, is that it is almost impossible to measure the benefits. However, Dr Dobie claims to have detected a number of "signals" suggesting that these methods are working and he makes the not deliriously optimistic view that these indicate that the department is at least getting back within a year or so the money it spends on Coverdale.

ICI, a company, operates on the basis of allowing a high degree of autonomy to its component units. The individual divisions have a strong sense of their own identity and enjoy a high degree of discretion. This is reflected in the divisional structures down to the works managers to decide whether, and to what extent, to use Coverdale or any alternative approach in their units and in the Mond Division the range of commitment to Coverdale seems to extend from at least agnosticism to apostolicism.

However, Mr Arthur Tait, personnel director for the Mond Division, appears to feel that the time is approaching for taking a more strategic divisional view. He sees Coverdale as "a highly effective method of developing teams and groups which are quite quickly the objectives are felt to be reasonable". However, he is not so convinced of its effectiveness where there is at least superficially a degree of conflict in the desired objectives, as, for example, in relations between trade unions and management.

He feels that far in the various units of Mond Division Coverdale has been used as a management development tool, but the question he is now posing is whether that is making the best use of it or whether it should be more broadly used as an organizational development programme.

RC

Why EEC demands over truck and bus drivers hours are impracticable

From Miss Stella Green

Sir, As a regular bus user, I read with considerable concern your Transport Correspondent's report on bus and lorry drivers' hours (September 29). As a consumer of goods, all at some stage transported by road, I am doubly affected.

Why, in order to be "good Europeans", must we suffer bumbling bureaucracy? I am in favour of the EEC, but one's faith is shaken by the way in which its administrators single out the wrong targets for their legislative efforts; anything, it seems, to justify its existence. Yet they were unable to carry through such a simple and sensible proposal as that to introduce "summer time" on the same day in all member states using this system.

Mr Bailey clearly shows the false logic which has led to the EEC hours regulations. It is we, the consumers, the general public, who will have to pay for this farce—unless there is an unprecedented harmonization of down-to-earth common-sense in Brussels!

Yours faithfully,
STELLA GREEN,
5 Lancaster Court,
Lancaster Avenue,
London SE27.
October 2.

From the Director-General of the Road Haulage Association

Sir, Michael Bailey's article on drivers' hours (September 29) is timely and effectively draws attention to the serious consequences for the road transport industry of the continuing decision about the rules which will apply in the United Kingdom after January 1, 1978. It would be unfortunate, however, if the article encouraged opposition to membership of the EEC or unfair criticism of "Brussels bureaucracy".

It is not the bureaucrats but the Council of Transport Ministers who have failed to agree on the rules governing drivers' hours and created fresh problems for road transport. It would certainly be quite impracticable for operators to adjust running schedules and other working arrangements by the beginning of 1978, or even, in many cases, by January, 1979, if the reduction in driving hours is to be from ten to eight.

Such adjustments and related changes would have to be discussed and agreed with the trade unions, and this process would not necessarily be easily or quickly completed. Moreover, the consequent increase in the cost of transport services to trade and industry, and therefore in the prices of all goods, would be considerable.

Changes of this nature cannot be accepted immediately by the United Kingdom without serious effects on the economy, but the haulage industry is prepared to move towards acceptable standards by stages. My association supports membership of the EEC and has cooperated, and continues to cooperate, with the

Department of Transport and the EEC Commission's services in Brussels in attempting to formulate a common transport policy.

We recognize that on the question of drivers' hours there are differences between the governments of member states, but an acceptance of the "package" put forward by the Secretary of State for Transport in June, which provided for the phased introduction of an amended regulation in the United Kingdom, seems the best means of resolving the differences. This "package" was not acceptable to the French, who feel that Britain has had long enough to adjust to the EEC rules.

Whatever justification there may be for this view, forcing the United Kingdom into the situation described by Michael Bailey will not improve matters. The French authorities may be assured that they have made their point, that the road transport industry here genuinely cannot afford to comply with the existing regulations by January, 1978, and that we are prepared to move by sensible stages towards the implementation of a practicable set of rules acceptable to all.

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Moreover, the Post Office has a statutory duty, laid down by Section 9 of the 1969 Post Office Act, to operate with regard to efficiency and economy "in meeting its service obligations". The Post Office is, therefore, obliged to review its provision of offices and make adjustments as circumstances change.

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remembering that a short while ago the corporation was criticized for not investing enough. The advertising campaign makes good commercial sense, since by increasing business it will improve the economics of the telecommunications business and thereby enable charges to be held down for longer periods and investment to be made more rapidly.

The subsidizing of totally unrelated operations by the profits made on telephones or any section of post office business would erode financial discipline and rational resource allocation, and lower staff morale. It is refreshing to see the Post Office advertising its postal and telephone services using up-to-date methods; far from being criticized for this the corporation should be encouraged.

All that is lost to Mr Lyon, his local councillors, or any other local authority wishing to keep open redundant post offices. If they offer to pay the Post Office the amount of savings it would have made by closing the office—inflation proofed of course—then postal officials could hardly refuse to continue to keep the office in question open. The money could be quite easily raised by the protesting councillors voting for an increase in rates. I am surprised that this simple expedient has not been widely adopted by councils before.

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Capital problems in Catalonia

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Of the 103 textile companies whose applications for such subsidies were approved last year, 83 were in the province of Barcelona and they represented more than 80 per cent of the total number of concerns applying for aid under the programme.

As a highly industrialized area, Barcelona has its share of labour problems. It lost 2,700,000 man hours during the first quarter of this year through strikes. That was the same quarter that the total man hours lost in labour disputes in Madrid and Bilbao combined during the same period.

Nevertheless Barcelona was far from being the most strike-bound province. That was Valencia, where a construction strike caused a loss of 28.8 million man hours during the same quarter, representing more than half of the total time lost throughout the country.

Labour is far from tame in Barcelona and political attitudes can now be expected to influence events in industry even more than in the past.

Harry De-

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Profit before taxation attributable to S. Pearson & Son, Ltd.	14,192	11,219
Total taxation (overseas taxes £1,950,000 1976 £1,693,000) including deferred taxation	10,175	7,859
Deduct proportion attributable to minority interests	2,551	1,918
	7,624	5,941
Net profit attributable to S. Pearson & Son, Ltd. before extraordinary items	6,568	5,278
Extraordinary items, less minority interests and taxation	(56)	179
Net surplus including extraordinary items	6,512	5,457
Dividends:		
Preference	9	9
Ordinary: interim for 1977	1,369	1,363
final for 1976	43	-
	1,421	1,372
	5,091	4,085
Earnings per ordinary share, before extraordinary items	9-59p	7-73p

Exchange differences arising on the reconversion to sterling of net assets overseas are excluded from the above figures.

1350 مالا

(Current market price multiplied by the number of shares in issue for the stock quoted)

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 The College of London is seeking applications for the post of Lecturer in Planning. The successful candidate will be responsible for teaching and research in the field of planning. The College is a leading institution in the field of planning and offers a stimulating environment for research and teaching. Applications should be sent to the Director of Studies, College of London, University of London, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT.

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Commercial Property

Farm lands attract institutions

Institutional interest in agricultural investment has been underlined by several recent sales. The Pension Fund Property Unit Trust, for instance, has paid £1m for the greater part of the Morton Hall Estate, near Norwich. The property covers 1,691 acres with 578 acres in hand and 409 acres let to a local farmer. In addition there are 46 acres of allotments, playing fields and gardens. The estate also includes the River Wensum and some of the land by the river overflows and gravel deposits. Two farmhouses, eight cottages, a modern granary and a pig unit are in hand. There are also 97 acres of woodland let to the Forest Commission and 269 acres of dedicated commercial woodland to hand. Cluttons and Jones Lang Wootton acted for the trust. The sale was by auction through George Mavor and Co., acting for Sir Richard Prince-Smith, the vendor.

The Pension Fund Property Unit Trust has also acquired 130 acres of farmland near Danbury, near Chelmsford, for £21,000. The land is being added to an adjoining farm which has been owned by the trust for some years. Jones Lang Wootton and Cluttons acted for the trust in this transaction also.

In another sale an undisclosed pension fund has paid £1m for the Whitebury Estate, near Salisbury, which was owned by the late Mr. William Hill. The property covers 1,500 acres and as part of the terms of sale the land has been leased back to a company managed by Mr. Christopher Harper, the late Mr. Hill's nephew.

In the redevelopment field work is to start on phase 3 of the redevelopment of central Blackburn, at a cost of £4.5m. Architects for the scheme are Building Design Partnership; contractors, John Laine Construction Ltd. Main element is a department store, already let to Debenhams.

Letting agents are Bernard Thorpe and Partners, of Manchester. Work has started on the covered shopping centre at Staines, Middlesex, and completion is due in the autumn of 1979. The scheme, designed by BEP Partnership, includes a large extension to Marks and Spencer, British Home Stores and International Stores, and also to be represented. It will provide 250,000 sq ft of new shopping for the town, which will be linked with the existing town centre.

The scheme is a partnership between Grosvenor Estate Commercial Developments, Spelthorne Borough Council, and the British Petroleum Pension Trust, which is funding the entire development. Edward Erdman and Co. is acting for Grosvenor, Gerald Ely is consultant to the council, and Debenhams Tewson and Chislocks act for the Pension Trust.

An interesting series of sales is reported from "down under" by Jones Lang Wootton, which has disposed of 22 properties in Western Australia. They realized a return in the region of AS4.2m. In addition, three of the remaining four properties are under active negotiation. Five hotels and other properties were sold for three before auction by private treaty for AS1.7m.

At the auction held in Perth and believed to be the largest of its kind ever held in the state, five hotels and four other properties were sold for AS1.6m, while subsequent sales have produced another AS390,000. The hotels were put up for sale by Swan Brewery as part of a rationalization programme.

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Smiths subsequently arranged finance for the purchase by way of a sale and leaseback with the Schroder Property Fund for Pension Funds and Charles. Smiths is moving to the Lords Hill shopping centre. The shop has a total area of 15,000 sq ft and was offered at a fixed ground rent of £1,225 a year. It has a frontage of 37ft with a shop depth of 123ft, giving some 4,500 sq ft of ground floor sales area, with the remaining space being split between basement, first and second floors.

Smiths intends to carry out extensive work and enlargement to give a final total area of about 19,000 sq ft. Edward Erdman acted for W. H. Smith in the purchase and subsequent refinancing, and Sainsbury was represented by Healey and Hamson, part of Hampshire Contractors of Winchester, has acquired an uncompleted warehouse development in Stourport Road, Kidderminster, from the Receiver, for about £200,000. The site, which is on the Oldington Vale Lane trading estate, with a main road frontage, was previously in the ownership of The Deben Group. There are three warehouse units which will be completed and ready for occupation early next year. These provide from 10,000 sq ft to 38,000 sq ft and tenants' particular requirements can be met. Rents will be about £1.5 a sq ft. Harrell, Taylor & Co., of Bristol, acted for the buyers and have been retained as letting agents. Shipway, Noble and Earle and John Bellfield acted for the vendor.

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